BALANCE SHEET OF THE SOVIET-NAZI WAR *By Colonel T.*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY JULY 22, 1941

WHAT BRITISH LABOR WANTS

Aftermath of the Anglo-Soviet Pact

A Report from London. By Claude Cockburn

STUDY IN OPPOSITES

A contrast between the USSR and Hitler's Reich

WHO SAID NO UNEMPLOYMENT?

By Bruce Minton

YAHOO, MR. LUCE

By Ruth McKenney

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Between Ourselves

OUR switchboard is always one of the busiest spots in the office when things begin to happen at a terrific pace either here or abroad. People want to know things—and when we haven't time to tell very much, they ask, "Will there be an article (or editorial) about it in the next issue?" We're terribly pleased when we can say yes; and usually we can. Recently the telephone traffic has been a little heavier, with a reiterated question coming through: "Will you publish another Cockburn cable this week?" And we were able to say "yes"—it's on page 4. We shall publish still another in the forthcoming issue, in many issues for weeks to come, along with other cables from London and Moscow—that is, IF. We don't have to tell you what the "if" is, assuming you have read our last issue with its appeal for an NM cable fund of $5,000 to obtain regular frontline dispatches on the war against Nazism. Since the appeal was published we have received $1,140, some of it in sums of $100 and some in scattered amounts beginning with a dollar bill. We're pretty proud of that response, although the credit for it really belongs to our cable writers and the fund contributors. We'd like the latter to take the floor for us. Their letters explain better than we can why it's so important to raise that remaining $3,860 needed to ensure more up-to-the-minute news from Cockburn, R. Palme Dutt, and other frontline writers.

...ributor from Connecti... cabled news from Lon... an *real* news instead of ...nuniques—well, it was rather like turning on the loudspeaker and hearing Claude Cockburn's voice right in the room. I forgot all about the fence I was going to patch, the cow I was about to milk, the swim I might take later, and sat right down with the copy of NEW MASSES I had just hauled out of my rural mailbox to read Cockburn once and then again. It certainly made this lovely landscape, where I've been vacationing for the past month, fade out for a while. And it isn't only that I get hungry for 'the lowdown,' no matter how many papers I receive, out here. If I were in New York I don't think that I would feel any differently—after all, London is no closer to the Empire Tower than to the weather vane on my barn. Claude Cockburn's dispatch gave me very much the same feeling as when I used to read his fine sheet, the *Week*, in the days when it was still coming through and I got it in New York—a feeling of having really come upon some truth about what's going on across the waters. These NM dispatches, though, have more impact—partly because The Situation is so much more exciting right now and partly because news is hotter coming over wires. Anyway, to stop talking so much and get down to the point, here's a fiver. How many Cockburn or R. Palme Dutt words do I get for that? Incidentally, if the individual dispatches were a little longer, I wouldn't kick. Neither would a number of people I know, and I hope enough feel that way about it to do something practical and in a hurry. Yours for more and longer cables. C. F."

That's a rather long speech for this space, but personally we liked it. It contains nearly everything that is said in the shorter letters and told us in conversation regarding the cable fund. Not quite everything, though. One letter dwells almost entirely on the meaning of the war itself, taking off from our own words of last week, "We want to annihilate Hitlerism," and going on: "Yes, but how? We know *why;* or maybe I'd better put it this way: *We* know why. I mean that we—people like NM readers, for instance, and many others—know all about the meaning of Hitlerism. We've known it for so many years, since before Spain, before Hitler himself. If everyone had known, how different things might be now! But it's no good wailing over the past. The point is, everyone has *got* to know this time and, knowing, act. I honestly believe that the 'frontline reports' you are publishing, from men like Cockburn and Dutt, contribute a tremendous lot to that necessary knowledge and the action that will come with knowledge. It's a bit of an anti-climax to end this by saying, 'I enclose a dollar,' but I'm just getting on my feet again after being out of a job for more than two years." Writing us about the July 8 issue as a whole, a reader says, "As for Palme Dutt, I never get enough of his penetrating and profound insight. So, in order to get more of him and of the other European correspondents you promise, I enclose check for $100."

In an early issue NM will publish an article by A. B. Magil on the anti-fascist writings of Earl Browder who, beginning many years ago, outlined the measures that would have to be adopted for a successful struggle against fascism. Joy Davidman, our regular movie critic, has retired to the country for the rest of the summer to work on a novel. During her absence Alvah Bessie, who has been a movie critic as well as drama reviewer for NM, will take over Miss Davidman's column.

This magazine will hold a Round Table Discussion on the most momentous issue of today, the Soviet-Nazi war, on Wednesday evening, July 30, at Manhattan Center. Further details may be found on page 25.

NM is proud to present in the current issue (page 4) a statement by Eugene Petrov, of the world-famous team of Ilf and Petrov. The cable came to us promptly through a contract we have arrived at with Intercontinent News Service that will ensure the regular, speedy delivery to our office of articles by other prominent Soviet writers. We began last week with Ilya Ehrenbourg's piece and expect to receive similar articles by such internationally renowned figures as Mikhail Sholokhov, Alexei Tolstoy, Fadayev, and others.

Flashbacks

ON JULY 22, 1916, a bomb wa thrown during the Preparednes Day Parade at San Francisco. Si: persons were killed. Tom Mooney powerful labor leader, was falsel charged with the crime, "founc guilty," and spent twenty-three year: in prison before he was pardonec as a result of constant demand fron the people. . . . The first Woman's Rights Convention in this country was held July 19, 1848, at Seneca Falls, N. Y. . . . Veterans of the last World War—bonus marcher: —were told on July 20, 1932, that they had just ten days to get the hell out of Washington. Presiden Hoover (remember Aid to Finland?) was offering gunfire and tear gas to American soldiers asking relief.

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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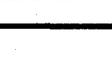

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THE ANGLO-SOVIET PACT: An editorial

IF ANY further proof were needed, the alliance between the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom is proof of how fully and profoundly the war has changed its character. With the two free peoples of Europe, the British and the Soviet, promising each other "aid of all kinds" and pledging no peace with the enemy "except by mutual agreement," the war has now become indivisible. Not everybody realized in time that the peace was indivisible, but everyone now has the last opportunity to realize that the war is indivisible. Whoever favors the Soviets must necessarily favor the British. Whoever favors the British must necessarily favor the Soviets. Whoever tries to divide the fronts, or divide these two peoples, is only playing Hitler's game.

This alliance was clearly foreshadowed in Churchill's first speech and in Stalin's radio address: it represents a diplomatic defeat of the first magnitude for German imperialism. If Hitler calculated that by attacking the USSR, his friends in Britain would come to the surface, and paralyze Britain's war effort, that calculation has now been smashed just as surely as Hitler's elite legions will be smashed. And if any of Hitler's friends in Britain—and they are powerful—speculate that they can still paralyze Anglo-Soviet collaboration, behind the cover of formal alliance, it is clear that they do so on the pain of being exposed as traitors. They will be seen not only as Hitler's fifth column, but what amounts to the same thing—traitors to the defense and the future of the British people.

No one knows precisely the character of that "help of all kinds" which the agreement specifies. But clearly it must go far beyond the normalization or the expansion of trade relations. There may be exchanges of material; British and Soviet troops may be intermingled; Soviet submarines may be guarding the waters of the North Sea while British destroyers convoy material to the Arctic ports. What strikes us as most important is that this agreement opens the way to the most obvious and direct forms of cooperative struggle: the development of offensives and counter-offensives on both the eastern and western fronts. In his radio speech last week, Litvinov invited the British people not to give Hitler "a moment's rest" along the Atlantic coast and in the Rhineland. Evidently, the Soviet people expect active preparations for British operations all along Hitler's western flank. And on the Soviet side, this agreement now opens up the practical possibilities that the defense of the USSR may take on those counteroffensive forms which will enable Soviet troops to strike directly at the solar plexus of German fascism.

Imagine now what powerful effect and encouragement all this must be having among the broad masses of British common folk. In the first world war, it will be remembered, the Germans would have broken through to the Atlantic had not von Moltke been compelled to shift many divisions to the east; the war might have been over in the fall of 1914 had not the British and French had a powerful continental ally on Germany's flank. Ever since last June when the Vichy camarilla sold out to Hitler, "partly for cash and partly for credit," every realistic Englishman knew that Britain needed more than mere footholds on the continent: Britain needed a continental ally, stronger in every way than France. Today, for the first time the British masses see a practical perspective of winning the war. How the wheels of history have turned! The agreement which Stalin and Molotov offered to Neville Chamberlain two years ago has now been consummated under much different conditions. How much suffering might have been spared the peoples of Europe had Chamberlain's mission flown to Moscow overnight instead of taking its sixteen days by boat; how much sooner would Hitler have been defeated had the British negotiators been authorized to negotiate seriously—as the Soviet spokesmen insisted two summers ago!

Indeed the alliance will make its deepest impression precisely among the peoples whose suffering might have been spared. One can only imagine how the soul of oppressed Europe is moved at the realization that Hitler is caught in the vise of British and Soviet arms. For there is a third front in this war, the front of those unnamed and innumerable warriors, brave men and women fighting day after day behind Hitler's lines. For all these people British and Soviet unity is a promise. Whoever should try, in days to come, to break that unity and that promise, will find the peoples of Europe against him. This too is implicit in the Anglo-Soviet agreement.

Finally, it is a challenge to us Americans. Reading the press comment on the latest development, we are struck by some side remarks in some quarters that "treaties are just treaties," and after all, France also promised not to make a separate peace. Such sniping at the Soviet Union will boomerang, as always: the real danger is that we Americans shall be misled into considering a virtual separate peace with Hitler, the danger that our failure to help the USSR and Britain will unwittingly assist Hitler. The danger is that the American people shall be misled into making false separations between the British and the Soviet cause, which is now one cause. In the last two years, nothing irked the British people more than the idea, expressed in some American circles, that Britain was a mere outpost, of interest to us only as the outer island of our defenses. But nothing will irk them more today than the sentiments expressed in some quarters that Britain must be supported *despite* its allies.

The plain fact of the matter is that the American people are overwhelmingly sympathetic to the Soviet Union. Thousands of resolutions, from religious, trade union and other organizations have been passed in the last three weeks, hailing the Soviet Union's defense. And the President himself in reply to Kalinin's message on the Fourth of July cited the "strong ties of historic friendship" which bind the American and Soviet peoples. Last week, the Gallup poll made public some interesting figures, which show that seventy-two percent of those questioned favored a Soviet victory over Hitler; only four percent favored Germany, while only seventeen percent expressed no preference for either side, and seven percent had no opinion. The Gallup poll notes that Catholics and Protestants were equally in favor of the Soviet side, and the typical reasoning was as follows: "Russia is not imperialistic, but Germany is. Russia, even if she won, would not invade the United States, whereas Germany probably would."

In the face of such a clear and overwhelming mandate from the people, there should be no room for hesitations. There should be no room for snide remarks, for mean calculations, and quibbles. Our responsibility as Americans is to congratulate Soviet and British unity, to widen that unity in order to include ourselves alongside the people of China. Our responsibility is to develop large-scale and immediate aid to Britain, the Soviet Union, and China in their indivisible war. Anything less is an insult to their example.

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WHAT BRITISH LABOR WANTS

Claude Cockburn describes the enthusiasm for the Anglo-Soviet pact. The unions press to increase defense production. The fight to lift the ban on the London "Daily Worker."

London (by cable)

You have to see, in order to believe, the thrill that the news of the Anglo-Soviet pact—signed at long last after much effort by the mass of common people here, who for years have wanted it—is sending through the British factories. Above all, this is true in the engineering factories, among the key workers who had already held repeated and enormous meetings to support the Premier's pledge of full aid to the Soviet Union.

The other side of that enthusiasm is the roar of derisive laughter which went up from the factories when it was learned that even now the British Broadcasting Company refuses to broadcast the *Internationale* along with the other national anthems of Britain's allies. BBC chose instead the little-known *Army March* as being more "non-committal."

The incident, though absurd, is worth serious mention right at the outset. Because it occurred on the day of the announcement of the pact, it helps in throwing light on the positive and negative forces at work in Britain on this issue. The negative forces are a small, exceedingly sulky, but still powerful minority. The majority of the press, sensing the real feeling of the people, has joined in loud public mockery of BBC's attitude. Nevertheless the continuance of this ridiculous behavior by BBC has at least had the effect of reminding decent people of the continued existence of various slimy personalities and policies still seeking to undermine the full effect of the Premier's pledge, Eden's pledge, and now the pact itself. Prominent among those little snakes in the grass currently seeking sabotage of full Anglo-Soviet unity, may be mentioned the so-called "imperial policy group" headed by a Tory Member of Parliament, Kenneth De Courcy, who in turn has been closely associated with Otto Hapsburg and similar reactionary elements. Among the principal backers of this small but active group are such undesirable personages as Lord Phillimore, a leading figure in a pro-Franco organization. To all of these news of the pact has come as a sharp kick in the pants. For signing this agreement marks not only the logical outcome of quick progress by military missions, but also a big preliminary victory over all those hoping to keep Anglo-Soviet relations permanently vague.

All this, of course, is going on parallel to another struggle of quite a different character on the British home front, though at some points it is connected with the direct fight against the open or half-concealed Quislings indicated above. This is the struggle to increase efficiency and total production in British factories. This week a large number of MP's of all parties are meeting with representative shop stewards from at least nine leading aircraft and other war factories in the London area. This is a meeting of first rate importance, since it can provide the first practical followup to the recent parliamentary debate on production in which leading Tory MP's were constrained to admit grave deficiencies in production. It is also a followup of discussions held at the recent conference of the executive board of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, where President Tanner launched some very serious charges against managerial inefficiency, which he at least openly attributed to appeasement tendencies in certain quarters. I know a large number of shop stewards attending this meeting at Commons; they are coming to it, on the one hand with chapter and verse to prove how wrong some things are in the factories, and on the other, with the determination to join forces with anyone prepared to help get necessary things done so that full factory resources may be thrown into the common Anglo-Soviet struggle. They will find considerable response in all parties in the House of Commons. The meeting was called by William Gallacher and D. N. Pritt.

Shop stewards believe—and there is every reason to suppose they are right—that it is possible to adopt immediately in individual factories (which can and will be named in private discussions) measures which in some cases will at once increase production by as much as eighty percent. This staggering figure may appear exaggerated to those who are unfamiliar with existing conditions in British factories. Yet it is certainly the opinion among the best informed and most highly skilled workers that such an increase is obtainable—even easily obtainable. It is not a question in this case of any single large or national scale "plan"—though shop stewards would like to see an immediate investigation

Four Million Muscovites Missed It

Moscow (by cable).

It would be nonsense to assert that Muscovites are leading a serene, peaceful existence these days, singing gay songs, holding masquerade balls in the Park at Culture and Rest, and exchanging opinions on street corners as to the latest soccer match between the Dynamo and Spartak teams. Peacetime is gone. We are at war. We are engaged in a life and death struggle, a sacred patriotic war in which the whole nation, young and old, is taking part; a war in which each of us takes counsel with his conscience, every day asking himself, "What have you done for the front today?" Whatever he may be doing—working, riding in the subway, dining, resting—one thought is uppermost in everyone's mind: destroy the enemy!

Never has the capital witnessed such fervent meetings, such tremendous enthusiasm, such unity as in these days. Never has the capital been so calm, so disciplined, so clean and neat. Every bit of rubbish and inflammable material is being removed from yards and attics. Useless wooden fences and structures are being pulled down. Like a battleship, Moscow is clearing her decks for the fray. Muscovites are fully aware of the danger. They know how strong and treacherous the enemy is. Everyone is efficiently preparing to meet the air pirates. We have every reason to believe that the enemy will not find too hospitable a welcome here.

However that may be, not a single Muscovite has seen a fascist plane over the city yet. And Moscow has more than 4,000,000 inhabitants. Still it appears that we Muscovites have been guilty of criminal carelessness, that we have been unobservant—so unobservant, in fact, that 4,000,000 Muscovites actually missed a great air raid. Tons of bombs have been dropped on the capital, reducing the city to a heap of shapeless ruins. And here we have been working, strolling about, dining, going to the movies, doing everything in the world but looking up at the sky. I must confess that even old Muscovites like myself saw nothing. And I have the audacity to call myself a journalist. A disgrace to the profession indeed.

It wasn't until I opened the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* that I realized what a sensation I had missed. To leave no doubt in anyone's mind, I shall cite the text of what I read: "Reports from Russian sources confirm that Moscow has been heavily bombed by German planes in the past few days. The Germans sent considerable forces of dive bombers against the Russian capital and the Russians themselves admit that much damage has been done." There you are! Even the Russians admit it. Yet Muscovites noticed nothing at all. And surely you can trust Russians. Needless to say, all this nonsense about bombing Moscow, fabricated by a pro-German newspaper, is not chance gossip by "our Helsinki correspondent," but a sample of the systematic slander concocted day and night in the odious lair of that degenerate Goebbels. This is something Russians *do* admit.

Eugene Petrov.

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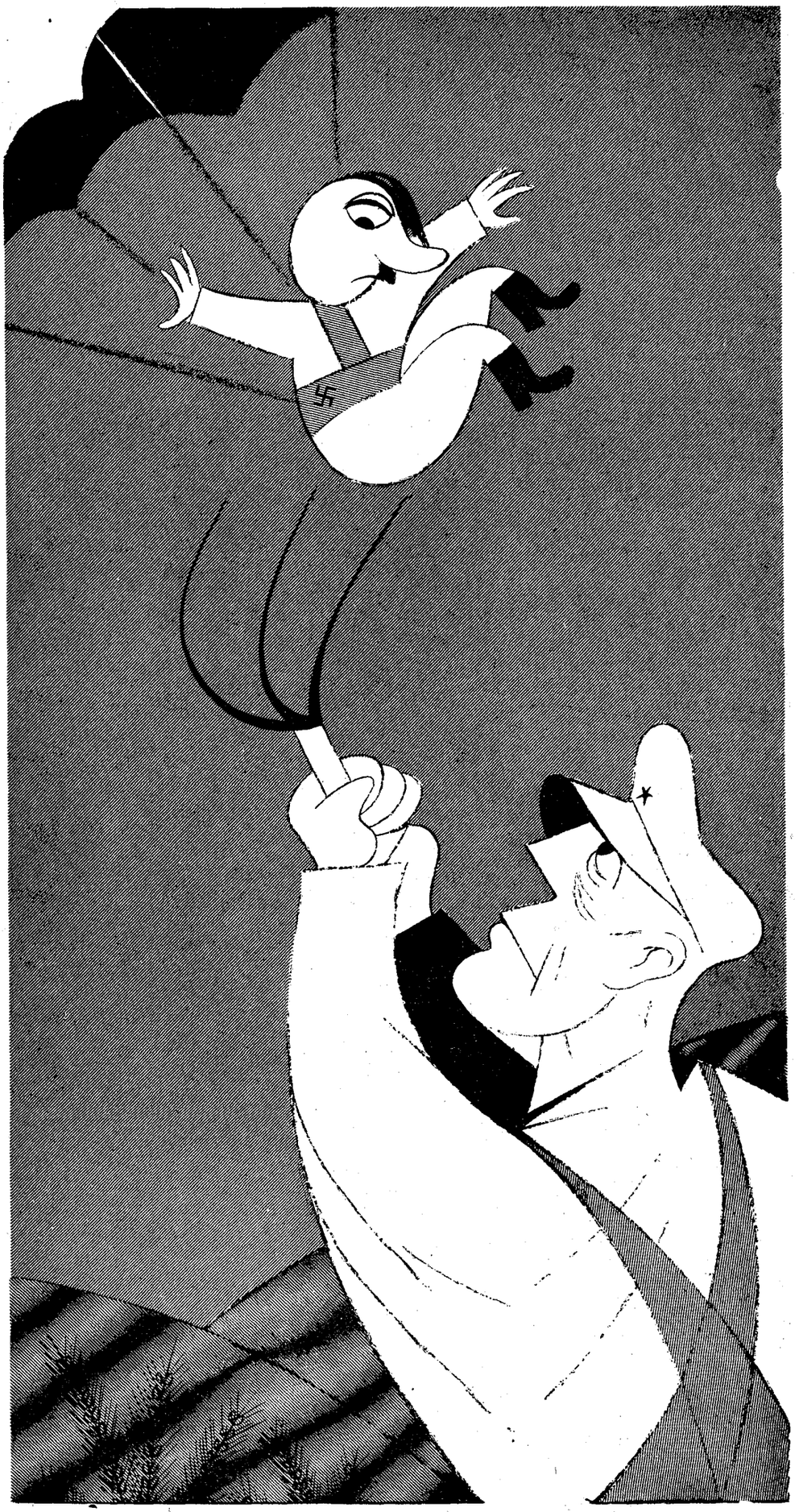
of the whole system of war contracts. It is rather a question of immediate measures in particular factories. The point about an investigation of war contracts is that in a very large number of cases it is the view of shop stewards that the basic trouble results from the method by which contracts are let on a system of "cost plus ten percent." This means that the contractor receives a guaranteed ten percent profit reckoned on his total costs; in many cases there is actual inducement to wasting time and money since the total profit, although not the profit ratio, rises together with cost. Even apart from any such drastic overhauling of the contract system, there are enormous possibilities of improved production and the effects of any such rise as eighty percent on the anti-Hitler war drive need no emphasis. All that needs emphasizing is the fact that in the opinion of the best informed workers in industry, such an increase can be achieved and that in view of the profound determination of the British workers to play their full part in cooperation with the Soviet Union, possibilities of such increases becoming reality are not now fantastic.

In this connection it is of interest and importance to note the attitude of shop stewards toward the question of immediately lifting the ban on the *Daily Worker*. Shop stewards are this week meeting Lord Beaverbrook to urge that this question should not be regarded legalistically but strictly as a question of production. They are not interested in the rights or wrongs of the original ban and certainly represent divergent viewpoints on that. Their attitude is now, however, that in view of the very large influence of the *Daily Worker* in factories and particularly in key engineering factories, it is of primary importance that the paper should be republished so that the full significance of the Soviet struggle and the need for fullest British participation should be made clear.

Communists here are making it understood that whether or not the *Daily Worker* is restored, there will be no difference in their fullest support of the common war effort. But they also make it clear that to some extent this question can be regarded as a barometer of the state of feeling inside the Cabinet—a barometer, that is to say, of the degree to which various personalities and groups appreciate the realities and urgency of the present situation. At the moment it is significant that betting is running in favor of the early restoration of the *Daily Worker*.

As you will have seen from the daily press, negotiations between the Soviet government and emigre governments in London have progressed favorably. And it can be said that there is a probability not only that full agreement will be reached with the Poles very shortly, but that this will be followed by active negotiations with the Czechoslovakian government in London. This should prove all the easier because of the agreement on foreign policy reached between these emigre governments last year with the full approval of the British government.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.



A. Jamison

A Perfect Three-Point Landing.

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BATTLE FOR THE FRONTIERS

Colonel T. analyzes the first phase of the Soviet-Nazi war. How successful was the initial blitzkrieg? The balance sheet after three weeks.

As I write, the headlines tell of the beginning of the second phase of the war. The Nazis have begun their second assault along the three main directions (Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev). There will be much to write about in my column next week, that's obvious. But for the time being I wish to say one word of warning: Hitler will be claiming big victories, big gains, "crackups"; new towns will figure in the news, some may even be taken by the Nazis. But be guided by this one principal point: the Germans will be suffering tremendous losses. And that's what counts. Tragic as Soviet losses may be, they can stand it. But it will be deadly for Hitler if he continues to lose men and material to the extent he did during the first phase of the war.

The temporary lull on the Eastern Front, that lasted about thirty-six hours, marked the close of the first phase of the war. This phase, operatively, could be called the Battle of the Frontiers—the battle of the approaches to the defensive position comprising the Gulf of Finland-Lake Chudskoye (Peipus)-Dvina-Gate of Smolensk-Dnieper-Dniester. Strategically it was the battle to cover the mobilization of the Red Army reserves.

This battle lasted almost three weeks. The Germans have reached the outer defenses of the above line (except on the southern wing). It is now possible at least to evaluate it in terms of movement.

As I pointed out several times before, the Germans have failed to effect a strategic breakthrough, to stun and knock out the Red Army, and to inflict losses greater than their own. However, there were a number of tactical breakthroughs and, in general, the front during that period hardly ever assumed the appearance of a steady and continuous line. In gauging the rate of advance of the German spearheads, it is important to ascertain whether that rate *increased* from week to week, or whether it *decreased*.

Some military analysts drew charts and made calculations which gave an entirely wrong picture of the first phase of the war. I shall attempt to set the situation straight by taking the three main directions, along which the Germans have made the greatest progress, namely Koenigsberg-Leningrad, Warsaw-Moscow, Liublin-Kiev. In order to cover the situation completely, add to this the direction Yassy-Kiev. Thus we have the four main sectors.

The advance of the Germans along these main directions is marked on the accompanying map according to the communiques of the three preceding Saturdays, with the understanding, of course, that the "front" lines are not and cannot be exact. They simply link those salient points which were mentioned by both sides. There are sectors and whole areas which are marked with dotted lines and question marks because there is no available information on the military situation there.

In spite of all this, a pretty clear picture can be drawn.

Operative line (in miles from border)	*First Week*	*Second Week*	*Third Week*	*Total*
Koenigsberg-Leningrad	60	160	35	255
Warsaw-Moscow	190	170	..?	360
Liublin-Kiev	60	110	..?	170
Yassy-Kiev	10	25	15	50

(It must be pointed out here that the distances in my table are in some instances greater than the actual ones, because they are measured along main operative lines and not from actual points of invasion. For instance, the distance from Grodno to Minsk is about 100 miles shorter than the distance we show on the map from the border to Minsk. Note also that we took the points of the deepest German advance.)

So we see that, with the exception of the Moscow direction, the rate of German progress increased during the second week and sharply dropped in all directions during the third week—so sharply that it almost came to a standstill. The daily rate was approximately 12.5 miles, eighteen miles, nine miles, and 2.5 miles in the four respective directions. The great effort which the Germans made on the Moscow direction proves that they intended to cut the Red armies in two during the first phase of the war, but failed to do so.

The sharp decrease in the rate of progress during the last week shows the Red Army operative reserves appeared on the scene in time to prevent a breakthrough before the mobilization of the Red Army was more or less complete (a mobilization is really never complete!). That, naturally, was the German aim. The whole Battle of the Frontiers from the Red Army viewpoint was nothing but an operation to cover the Soviet mobilization.

AND HERE a few words would not be amiss on the subject of mobilization. Many people think of it in terms of hours or days. It is natural that the larger a country the more time it takes to mobilize its reserves of manpower. The advantage of a compact country over a sprawling one in that respect remains the same, irrespective of the progress of transportation.

It is interesting to go back to 1914 and to see how the czarist army mobilized its reserves. Some of the figures are revealing. The army just before the war had, roughly, eighty divisions. The "first" mobilization was

Fly in the Ointment

IS THERE an officially inspired attempt to prevent the American people from learning the truth about the Red Army? Last week NEW MASSES cited the comments of the "experts" of most commercial newspapers, singling out the work of Fletcher Pratt of the New York *Post* and Hanson W. Baldwin of the *Times* as particularly flagrant examples of poltical propaganda in the guise of objective analysis. We pointed out that behind these prejudiced comments was something more than run-of-the-mine anti-Soviet bias, that high officials of the War Department—according to *In Fact,* the chief of staff, General George C. Marshall himself—have been giving the "experts" their "line."

Now comes fresh confirmation of the role being played by certain Washington circles. The July 11 issue of the newspaper *PM* reported that "Ever since Hitler sent his armies against the Soviet, deliberately pessimistic predictions have come out of Washington quoting anonymous military experts. According to *PM:*"

"To try to head off the stampede of press superlatives [for the Red Army] in this country Jim Fly, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, met yesterday at an unadvertised conference with only invited local heads of press wire services, Washington radio network commentators and bureau managers of larger metropolitan dailies such as the New York *Times.* Mr. Fly told them of the need of minimizing the Stalin Line as the world hope for stopping Hitler. Presumably speaking for administration higher-ups, he pointed out that a wave of American defeatism might follow the possible cracking of the Stalin Line. . . ."

Certainly, it is true that overconfidence is dangerous, and no one need underestimate the difficulties which the Soviet people and the peoples of the world face in the struggle against Hitlerism. It is curious, however, that Fly and his buddies showed no concern about overconfidence when Hitler invaded Yugoslavia, Greece, or other countries; it is only when the Nazis tackle the one army that is giving them battle that these people decide it would be more discreet to play that army down. Does Fly really speak for the administration? And since when has it become the job of the chairman of the FCC, which is supposed to be a non-political body, to act as minister of propaganda? It looks to us as if this activity is in violation of the Federal Communications Act. And it looks to us as if it is very much of a piece with the efforts of those reactionaries who are seeking to sabotage aid to the Soviet Union.

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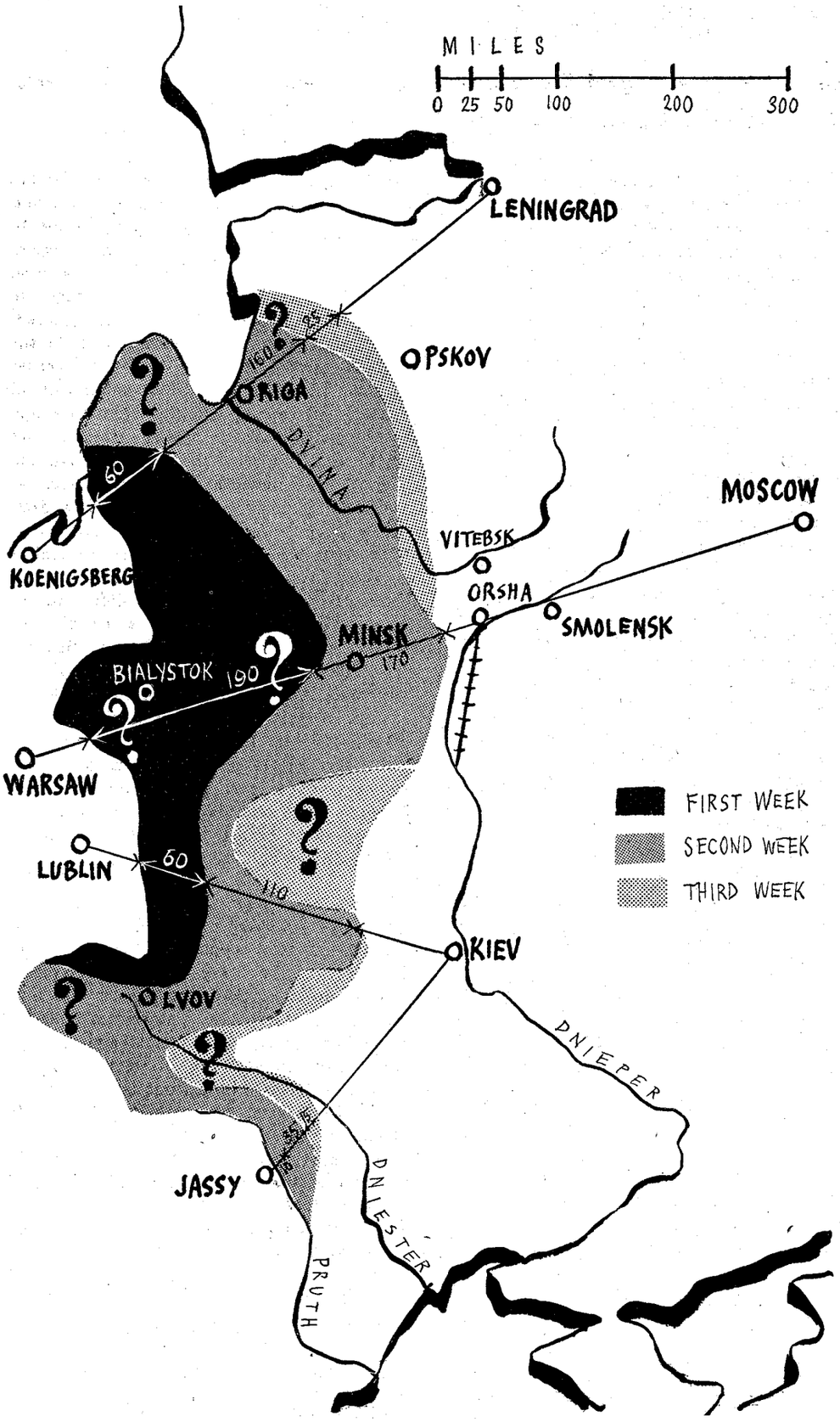

The above map shows the extent of the Nazi advance in each of the first three weeks of the war. The question marks designate areas from which no information on the military situation was available. As "New Masses" went to press, Moscow reported that Soviet troops crossed the Dnieper at several points north of Rogachev and drove the Nazis back. These reports came on the heels of a smashing Soviet victory in the Baltic: thirteen German troopships, two destroyers, and a barge laden with tanks were destroyed, and thirteen other troopships and a destroyer were set on fire.

to give it thirty-five more, or a total of 115. It is estimated that in fire power these divisions were the equivalent of 57½ German divisions.

The Germans at first placed on the Eastern Front twenty of their own divisions and about forty-six Austro-Hungarian divisions, or the equivalent of about forty full-fledged German divisions (in firepower).

Russia could not send more than 94½ divisions to her Western Front because she had to guard the Turkish and other frontiers. How soon, then, did the Russian divisions concentrate at the Front? On the fifteenth day, twenty-seven were ready, on the twenty-third day, fifty-two, on the sixtieth day, 90½, and at last on the eighty-fifth day all 94½ were ready. The last four divisions came from the Far East (Siberian Riflemen). They spent six weeks on the train.

Since those days the Russian railroads have been extended and generally improved (as far as roadbed, rolling stock, and exploitation is concerned). It may be roughly estimated (judging by carloadings) that the Soviet railroads now can carry about four times more traffic than the Russian railroads could in 1914. Even so the first phase of the mobilization of the Red Army could not be carried out in less than three weeks (as compared to twelve weeks in 1914).

Hence the necessity to hold the enemy and retreat as slowly as possible without permitting him to disrupt the disposition of the covering troops and to push long fingers of steel which could rip up the mechanism of the mobilization in the rear.

This retreat, however, was carried out according to a new concept of "deep strategy." Large bodies of troops were left in the enemy rear. These troops, as time wears on and their "regular" operations against the enemy lines of communication cease, "evaporate" into countless detachments of guerrillas, composed of a nucleus of regular army men around whom fighters from the local population congregate.

The question marks on the attached map mark the invisible and imponderable front thus created more than 200 miles behind the enemy front. We shall hear little in the communiques of this front, but, nevertheless, it is not "unimportant," for it carries in its very conception the seeds of something the power of Hitler must fear.

COLONEL T.

No "Kultur"

"WHEN the German forces crossed the Bug River, the Russians appear to have allowed them to advance without giving any indication of their presence. Then they opened 'devastating' fire from all sides upon the German advance units. Such methods of warfare are scathingly criticized in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, which declares that shooting from the rear is a typical Bolshevist action." — *From the New York "Times," June 29, 1941.*

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YOUR QUESTIONS ON THE WAR

New Masses answers readers' queries. What changed the character of the war? How can we help defeat Hitler? What about convoys? What about a people's peace?

"New Masses" here presents answers to questions from our readers regarding the Soviet-Nazi war. We would welcome additional questions.—The Editors.

Q. Can we expect imperialist governments to give real aid to the USSR?

THERE are two factors involved in the answer to this question: the situation of the British and American governments in the struggle against Germany, and the peoples of Britain and the United States. There is no doubt that the British ruling class desired Soviet involvement in the war. But because the Nazi conquests and plans for further expansion constitute an extreme menace to the British empire, that section of the ruling class represented by Churchill believes it necessary to give some measure of aid to the Soviet Union. Churchill and those for whom he speaks realize that a Hitler conquest of the USSR would convert Britain into a vassal state of Germany. It was not out of love for socialism, but in order to safeguard British imperialist interests that Churchill made his offer of assistance.

President Roosevelt represents essentially the same point of view, though he has expressed it in less positive terms. In both countries—in the United States openly, in Britain covertly—the most reactionary big business groups oppose American aid to the USSR and prefer to come to terms with Hitler in a super-Munich at the expense not only of the Soviet Union, but of the national interests and security of the American and British peoples. This is the real policy of Colonel Lindbergh and the America First Committee. There are also those who, while professing to oppose the America First appeasers, actually play into their hands by posing one front in the war against another and thus obstructing a united fight against Hitlerism. This is the attitude of the New York *Times* which, instead of combining the slogan "Help Russia" with that of aid to Britain, urges that the former be dropped and that assistance be confined to Britain. This policy would have the effect of isolating and weakening not only the Soviet Union, but England and the United States as well.

The second and all-important factor that will determine the character and extent of aid to the USSR, is the activity of the common folk of those countries. Undoubtedly, the statements of Churchill and Roosevelt reflected the strong anti-fascist sentiment of the vast majority of Englishmen and Americans. The problem now is to organize this sentiment in both countries, and especially in our own, in order to overcome reactionary opposition and swing the government into action that will assure swift, substantial help to both the Soviet and British peoples. Thus it is not a question of trusting Churchill or Roosevelt, but of trusting and arousing the people. Otherwise we risk a fascist-dominated world in which American democracy and independence are doomed.

Q. Why didn't the Soviet Union come to the assistance of Britain when it was attacked?

The Soviet Union early in 1939 offered to conclude mutual assistance pacts with the British and French governments which would have constituted a virtual military alliance. Had this offer been accepted, Hitler would have been faced with a two-front war, in which case he would probably never have attacked and peace would have been saved. But the British and French governments merely went through the motions of negotiating with the Soviet Union. Though Chamberlain had given a guarantee to Poland which could only have been implemented with the collaboration of the Red Army, he and Daladier continued to intrigue behind the scenes in an effort to encourage Hitler to direct his aggression eastward against the USSR. Realizing that the world was moving swiftly toward war, and that the British and French game was to embroil the Soviet Union singlehanded with Germany under conditions that would permit the Chamberlain and Daladier governments to stand on the sidelines and help Hitler, the leaders of the USSR acted to protect the Soviet state by signing the non-aggression pact with Germany. This pact was entirely in keeping with the Soviet peace policy and served to safeguard that country's neutrality in a conflict between two rival power blocs for imperialist objectives. Under those circumstances there could have been no question of Soviet assistance to Britain. Such assistance would have violated the pact with Germany; moreover, the stalemate maintained on the western front for the first half year and the efforts of the British and French governments to switch the war during the Soviet-Finnish conflict showed that they had not given up the dream of resolving their difficulties at the expense of the USSR.

Q. Was "New Masses" right in previously opposing the lend-lease bill and the arms program? If that program had not been carried through, the United States would not be in a position now to aid the Soviet Union.

Our attitude toward the lend-lease bill and the arms program was part of our opposition to the entire foreign policy of the American government. And this was based on the imperialist character of the war. Had our government from the outset joined with the most powerful neutral, the Soviet Union, in efforts to limit the spread of the war and assist the people of Britain and Europe to secure a truly democratic anti-fascist peace, the entire course of the war might have been changed. Instead our government chose to help spread the war by aiding one imperialism against another and adopting a hostile attitude toward the USSR. NEW MASSES consistently called for an abandonment of this suicidal course; had this been done and a progressive foreign policy adopted, we would have supported the arms program and other defense measures. With the attack on the Soviet Union the situation has been drastically altered. A policy of neutrality is no longer possible since the leading neutral is involved in war and the relation of forces has shifted so greatly that the defeat of the Soviet Union would, in view of the extremely difficult position of Britain, threaten the national existence of the United States. Moreover, the administration has begun to change its attitude toward the USSR in the direction we so long urged. The lend-lease bill and arms program, which previously served reactionary ends, can now serve progressive ends if they are employed to strengthen the USSR, Britain, China, and all nations in the fight to smash fascism.

Q. What should be the attitude toward convoys and similar measures?

NEW MASSES supports the statements of Secretary of the Navy Knox and Secretary of the Interior Ickes that now is the time to strike at Germany. This means that we favor the use of all economic and military measures to support the USSR and Britain. Again, our change in attitude is based on the changed character of the war. So long as the Soviet Union was not involved, the American people were not so directly menaced, and it was still possible for the United States and the USSR, without intervention, to cope jointly with the problem of a Hitler victory. Now, by his latest aggression, Hitler has imposed on us the necessity to strike at him and his fiendish system in every possible way if we are not ourselves to be struck down.

Q. Wouldn't it have been better for the USSR to have attacked Germany while the Nazi armies were occupied with their Balkan campaign?

It is, of course, always possible to reconstruct the world on the basis of hindsight and arrive at much better results. But history is not a jig-saw puzzle. The USSR is a peaceful country that lives up to its treaties, and to have attacked Germany would have meant a deliberate plunging into war. Though the Soviet Union was preparing for a possible Nazi assault, there was no certainty

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as to when the attack would come, and every day of peace meant added strength for the land of socialism. Moreover, what guarantee did the USSR have that if it struck at Germany, Britain would not make peace, leaving the Soviet Union to fight alone? The Hess affair showed that there were influential circles in Britain that were very receptive to precisely this solution of their problems.

Q. Why didn't Hitler attack the USSR during the Finnish conflict, when the British and French governments were so eager for an anti-Soviet war? Why didn't the Soviet Union take over the whole of Finland?

Ever since the young Soviet republic defeated the imperialist intervention of 1918-21, conflicts among the various powers have prevented a united attack on the USSR. It has been one of the aims of Soviet foreign policy to take advantage of these conflicts in order to safeguard its peace and security. This is the meaning of the non-aggression pact with Germany. Hitler, on his part, by signing the pact showed that he preferred to settle scores with his imperialist rivals before taking on so formidable an opponent as the Soviet Union. At the time of the Finnish war he had not yet achieved anything except seizure of part of Poland. For him to have joined with the British and French in a war on the USSR at that time—with the strong possibility that they would make him do the brunt of the fighting—would have defeated his own strategy.

In its war against the White Guard Finnish regime the USSR sought merely to secure its own borders and remove the menace of hostile guns only twenty miles from Leningrad. When this objective was achieved, it made peace without attempting to dictate the character or policy of the Finnish government. By ending the conflict at that point, the Soviet Union also frustrated the continued efforts to switch the imperialist war. Moreover, by the generous peace terms which it offered Finland, the USSR enhanced its prestige among the Finnish people and the peoples of all countries. That, for a people's government, is an important consideration.

Q. Will Japan attack the Soviet Union?

By their recent pact of neutrality and friendship Japan and the Soviet Union agreed not to undertake hostile action against each other for a period of five years. But the Japanese militarists can no more be trusted to live up to this pact than could Hitler himself. For the present the Japanese are undoubtedly sitting on the fence, waiting to see which way the Soviet-Nazi war will go. There are a number of restraining influences on Japan. Foremost is the Red Army, which administered serious defeats to the Japanese in border fighting in 1938 and 1939. Secondly, there is the war with China, which is diverting a large part of Japan's economic and military resources. Third, the Japanese are afraid that should they become involved in war with the Soviet Union, the United States would move in and take over some of the choice imperialist plums which they have plucked. And fourth, despite the alliance with Germany, the Japanese ruling clique fear that a Hitler victory over the USSR would squeeze them out of their own positions in the Far East.

Nevertheless there are other calculations which might cause the Japanese to strike at this time when the Soviet Union is engaged with Germany in the west. Should they do so, it would bring the threat of fascist Japan—and perhaps Nazi Germany too—within striking distance of Alaska. Obviously the Axis menace to the American people would be enormously increased. The best way to forestall this is by urging the Roosevelt administration to embargo the shipment of all war material to Japan and to undertake close collaboration with the Soviet Union in the Far East and in Europe.

Q. What becomes now of the slogan of a people's peace?

So long as the war was imperialist in character, the only course for progressives was to work for a people's peace as against a victory for either side. But now that the full might of Hitlerism has been turned against the peoples of the world, overshadowing the imperialist objectives of the British and American monopolists, the people do have a stake in the victory of one side: the forces opposing Nazi Germany. In the words of the American Peace Mobilization, "the essential prerequisite for achieving a people's peace has now become the military defeat of German Nazism."

Q. What are the chances for anti-fascist uprisings in the conquered countries?

Reports from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and other countries indicate great popular unrest. Only brute force holds down the peoples of these countries. Their fight and the fight of the German people goes on until the day when they shall settle accounts with their fascist oppressors. The most effective help to them at this time is to assure a complete military defeat for the Nazi legions invading the Soviet Union and menacing the British Isles.

Q. What can we in this country do immediately to help defeat Hitlerism?

Let President Roosevelt, the State Department, and your representatives in Congress know that they must act at once to speed all aid to the USSR, Britain, and China, and to strike at German military power wherever it operates. Get your friends to do likewise. Machine tools and other machinery urgently needed and bought in this country by the Soviet Union, have been held up for months by the bitter-end reactionaries in the State Department. Demand that they be released. Get your unions and other organizations to adopt resolutions for assistance to the Soviet Union and Britain and have them sent to Washington. Help organize meetings, conferences, and demonstrations for this purpose. A great international front of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and all peoples fighting Hitlerism can end forever this terrible menace to our peace and liberties. The great rich reservoir of the people's effort and talent needs to be tapped to meet this challenge, to make certain that victory will be on the side of those who fight for the future of mankind.

A. Jamison

"What we need is more discipline around here!"

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Strictly Personal

by RUTH McKENNEY

YAHOO, MR. LUCE!

I SUPPOSE it definitely ain't sporting to go around giving last week's issue of *Life* a couple of Bronx cheers, not to mention the bir-r-r-d. After all, getting out a weekly magazine has horrid pitfalls. Even the editors of honest magazines (adv.) sometimes go slightly gray between Tuesday night press-time and Thursday morning when the journal goes on sale. And in offices equipped with carpets and water-coolers there are always dark rumors that the editor keeps two crystal gazers, a palmist, and a ouija board operator on the payroll at fancy salaries, too. Coming events may cast their shadows before, but this time Brer Henry Luce, the millionaire fellow who runs, as well as owns, *Life* certainly wasn't doing much shadow gazing. To be vulgar, but accurate, Mister Luce got caught with suspenders busted.

Of course, it's perfectly clear how it happened. Mr. Luce made the awful mistake of believing his own lies. With only two or three days to rip up his magazine, slap in articles and pictures, and generally catch up to the events of the Soviet-Nazi war, *Life* rushed in where sensible angels would at least have hesitated. True, the commentators were busy announcing that the Red Army would fold up. Also true, certain high military moguls in Washington were calling in reporters and giving lugubrious off-the-record press conferences, in which it was freely and frankly stated that the Soviet government would soon be folding up and the army running like a pack of rabbits.

But Mr. Luce should have known better than to trust those babies. By the time the July 14 issue of *Life* hit the stands with a hollow thud, all official Washington, not to mention the dear little military experts on radio and newspapers alike, had calmly reversed itself, with not so much as a hiccough to mark its change in stride. Poor Mr. Luce is hoist by his own anti-Soviet petard.

But let's examine Mr. Luce's humiliation in all its putrid detail. The July 14 issue starts off with a bang—pages of pictures showing the "greatest army in world history" busily conquering, in one fell swoop, "the huge mastodon of all the Russias." The text accompanying these photographs has all the charm and accuracy of a three-week-old Gabriel Heatter radio script. Among the other gems imbedded in these paragraphs of deathless prose are light-handed remarks to the effect that "if they [the Russian armies] have already fought west of the Dnieper, the war is practically over." This is a mere nothing, however, compared to this slightly melancholy notion: "Its [the Soviet Union's] death struggle has a colossal majesty and terror not matched even by the fall of France."

Ah, there, Henry! That's giving it to 'em, eh? Death struggles are tricky things to fool around with—I'm afraid Mr. Luce is going to feel more irritated than usual with the Soviet Union. No patient has any business recovering after you've buried him with some of the fanciest prose this side of Walter Pater. Maybe Mr. S. A. Lozovsky, my favorite wit as well as one of the few government spokesmen circa 1941 who believes in telling the truth, ought to wire Mr. Luce a few of Mark Twain's deathless quips, such as "Reports of my death much exaggerated."

Mr. Luce's magazine, however, deals not only with the Red Army, but also has a lot of fascinating stuff about the Soviet government. Personally, it gives me a certain morbid pleasure to reflect that Mr. Luce's article *Men Around Stalin* wins him the all-time booby prize for magazine boners since they got out the news with chisels and stone tablets. I suppose Mr. Luce went to press before President Roosevelt cabled Mikhail Kalinin, President of the USSR, his best personal wishes. And only too evidently, nobody in Washington tipped off the demon editor to the fact the government of the United States was officially supporting the anti-fascist war effort of the USSR.

Which is just too bad. For *Life* magazine appeared on July 14 with a chatty little article attacking nine Soviet leaders, including Kalinin himself, Commissar for Foreign Affairs Molotov, the leading military authority Kliment Voroshilov, and six others. The lies printed in this article are so infamous, the vulgarities so monstrous, that I cannot even repeat them here. We publish a magazine of general circulation; I am very surprised the postoffice authorities allowed last week's issue of *Life* through the mails. I thought there was a law about obscenity. *Life* magazine described the heroes and leaders of a friendly anti-Fascist power in terms to make Walter Winchell ashamed, deeply ashamed.

Well, I thought as I thumbed through the pages of *Life,* July 14, that even Mr. Luce had scaled the depths with his personal insults directed at the members of the Soviet government. But I was due for a nasty jolt. Nestled well back among the advertisements of tooth powder (as though even the make-up man at *Life* was embarrassed by it) was the veritable masterpiece of Mr. Luce's remarkable anti-Soviet issue. To wit: an article titled, "Soviet Chances. No. 1 Russian exile offers to aid Stalin but predicts a speedy victory for Hitler. By Alexander Kerensky."

Which I submit is the most staggering headline in all journalistic history. Although you ain't heard nothin' yet. Mr. Kerensky, states (modestly), "I am fully aware of the fact my present appeal to the Kremlin may appear strange, to say the least." Do I hear a whistle in the stands? For shame! "I would remain silent," Mr. Kerensky continues. Will the people in the bleachers please refrain from shouting out, "Good idea!" and "G'wan! How yuh goin' to eat if you remain silent?"

"I would remain silent if I thought the Red Army . . . would be able to resist the smashing blows dealt it by Hitler's war machine. Alas, I fear developments will substantiate my worst forebodings," writes Mr. Kerensky.

Friends! As chairman of this audience, I beg you to stop making those peculiar noises. Is this any way to treat a man whom *Life* magazine calls "the heroic prototype of all exiled heads of European governments"?

Loud cries of "Yes!" from the stands. The chairman shakes her head.

Mr. Kerensky says, "Russia's domestic situation in 1914 was also far more favorable than it is now. Her agriculture was not ruined [sic]. Her railroads, compared to the Soviet ones, functioned with mathematical precision [sic, sic!]. There was no slave labor in Russian factories [SIC! SIC!]. Last but not least, Russia had developed, in her struggle against bureaucracy, a Parliament, an independent press, excellent institutions of local self-government, and increasingly effective labor unions. That was why. . . ."

Mr. Kerensky, drowned out by waves of laughter, leaves the platform shortly before the audience stops haw-hawing and begins to get mad. The latest news bulletins state that he had made good his escape and is now living in Connecticut, disguised as a friend of the Soviet Union.

But not so, however, with the melancholy Mr. Luce. Kerensky, after all, merely gets paid for tossing about the bull. Mr. Luce, on the other hand, prints it. One can merely speculate on the horror abroad in the offices of *Life* magazine this week. Can they ever live Kerensky's article down? Will America forget? Is it safe for Mister Luce to walk down Fifth Avenue or will hordes of innocent citizens die laughing when they catch a glimpse of him?

It is, of course, idle to speculate. But one thing is certain. From now on, Publisher Luce will be renowned throughout the land no longer as the astute fellow who made all that money with those magazines, but, simply, as just plain Slaphappy. Slaphappy Luce. Poor fellow. He guessed it wrong. Too much and too late. Yahoo, Mr. Luce!

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WHO SAID NO UNEMPLOYMENT?

A year ago wiseacres noted that there would be jobs for all by the summer of 1941. The CIO estimates nine million without work. The Marcantonio bill.

THERE lives a man in our town who considers himself wondrous wise. Every week or so we sit together on the morning commuting train, and he does a bit of prophesying. Unfortunately his memory for the more sweeping predictions he has indulged in, lapses by the time the predictions are supposed to come true.

My companion keeps me up on things. He is a sort of compendium of all the reactionary and misinformed opinions of his group. The other day I reminded him of his weighty prognostication of last summer 1940. "You just mark my words," he had said at that time. "A year from now there won't be any unemployment. Defense industry will absorb all the surplus."

This cheery thought was not entirely original with him—as few of his remarks are. He had been chewing over editorials of the New York *Herald Tribune* and the *Times,* as well as the stirring addresses of assorted $1-a-year industrialists. When I remarked not long ago that his analysis hadn't worked out so well, he mumbled something about the "damn unions," and any way, "the unemployed right now are only a handful."

The unemployed right now, according to the most recent CIO figures, number 9,062,000. Despite my companion's set opinion the unions have nothing to do with it—except that they have enforced better working conditions through organization, and thereby have helped keep the unemployment figure from reaching still higher. I prepared a little speech to be delivered to the prophet, but he wouldn't listen. Still, the reasons for unemployment lead to certain rather interesting conclusions.

In the twelve years since the crash of 1929 the individual worker's output increased enormously. That is, technological advances and the rise of mechanization, along with speedup and longer hours, boosted production levels to new marks. Each worker could turn out greater amounts in less time. The market, nevertheless, could not absorb more and more, and the very natural result was that less workers could provide all that could be sold. Thus production went up, but employment dropped sharply. In 1938, for example, taking as a base the year 1929, which in the following index is equivalent to 100, we find the following:

Manufacturing		*Class I Railroads*		*Mineral Industry*		*Electric Light and Power*	
Prod.	Employ.	Prod.	Employ.	Prod.	Employ.	Prod.	Employ.
118.3	84.6	127.1	55	156.3	78.7	163.5	92.6

This was the picture before the defense program began. It doomed in 1938 over 11,000,000 Americans who wanted employment but who could find nothing in regular channels. Slightly over three million of them were absorbed by federal projects. Since the end of 1939, however, this country has undertaken a huge defense plan. Production has necessarily expanded, and the demand for workers has risen with it. But the lamentable fact remains that even though the output of armaments and other defense materials has been considerable, the unemployed remain to testify to a failing economy. Because, even though production skyrocketed by twenty-five percent in 1941 over 1940 in all manufacturing industries combined, employment went up by less than half this amount, or twelve percent. In some industries, food and leather, for instance, production rose drastically, while employment showed no increase at all.

WHAT IS WRONG? The answer is simple enough, though my acquaintance on the commuter train almost has apoplexy whenever it is called to his attention. The fact remains, for all his tantrums, that as workers' output rises, there is no great increase in the ability of men and women throughout the country to buy more. Every time mechanization is introduced into the great enterprises, every time a strip mill is put into operation or a mine is rationalized, the need for workers decreases, even beyond the number previously employed. Those who lose jobs lose purchasing power at the same time. This process occurs repeatedly in industrial America; it occurs on the farms where machines displace farm hands and crowd out the smaller farmers, unable to afford costly tractors and combines.

Speedup helps to aggravate matters. New workers, among the youth ready to take their place in productive enterprise, swell the numbers in search of jobs. And this army of unemployed enjoys little or no income. Those that do remain at work receive insufficient wages to bolster purchasing power sufficiently; they are unable to buy enough of the goods that pour from the plants.

The contradictions pile up. The more efficient industry becomes, the more it turns out with less men; the more, then, are unemployed and the lower the total amount of wages received by the working class. The population is less able to purchase goods at a price that spells profit for the owners. No amount of wishful thinking, no amount of advertising or exhortation can overcome this ravaging disease. People cannot buy enough; the plants cannot be operated at capacity; there is no way, if production does not rise, to make room for the unemployed.

According to "authorities," such as my traveling companion, defense needs were supposed to change all that. Their argument at first seemed logical enough on the surface: the government would place orders for great amounts of airplanes, tanks, clothing for the army, guns, munitions, barracks, food for soldiers and sailors, shoes, warehouses, ships and trucks, tires and freight cars—in fact, products of all descriptions in great quantities. To fill such orders, industry must exert itself, and that promised expansion and the prospect of workers by the millions being called back on the job. Surely, unemployment would be a thing of the past.

It was a rosy picture. But it hasn't worked out that way, mostly because there are several deep flaws in the argument. Instead of distributing work, the OPM and other government agencies at the head of the defense apparatus show a decided predilection for longer hours for those on the job, and by no means insist on higher wages. On top of this, plants working at capacity are located only in certain areas: "By and large," states F. D. Flanner, spokesman of the American Public Welfare Association, "reemployment has taken place in the industrial areas of the North, not in the South or in the Great Plains States, where we have reason to believe that most of the unmet need exists."

There are other factors. The promised $43,000,000,000 to be spent on defense looms bigger than it is—because it will not be spent in one year. Only a fraction has been put to use so far: according to government figures, half will be spent in the forthcoming year to July 1942. And then, many of the jobs handed out are short-lived. In February of this year nearly 369,000 men were building cantonments for army use; by May these projects were practically finished, and 308,000 building trades workers returned to the ranks of the unemployed.

Worst of all, while defense industries boomed, those plants that received none of the government contracts experienced slumps. Raw materials were hard to get or not obtainable at all. Priorities, badly conceived, and in many cases unnecessary, shut down factories using metal, lumber, aluminum, and similar materials. Tanks and tractors were in demand. The shortage of steel and other metals was the excuse given for reducing the amount of automobiles rolling off the line. In Detroit, the number of automobiles manufactured dropped by a fifth—and 45,000 men lost their jobs.

Such disproportions are aggravated by the refusal of industry to employ workers over forty—and men considered "old" in their prime too often become part of the permanently unemployed. Negroes, of course, face discrimination everywhere: their ability, along with that of the foreign-born, to get jobs remains practically unaffected by the spurt in defense industry. No increase has taken place in the demand for white-collar employees; since most jobless are unskilled, their ranks

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"Mama, where is Earl Browder?"

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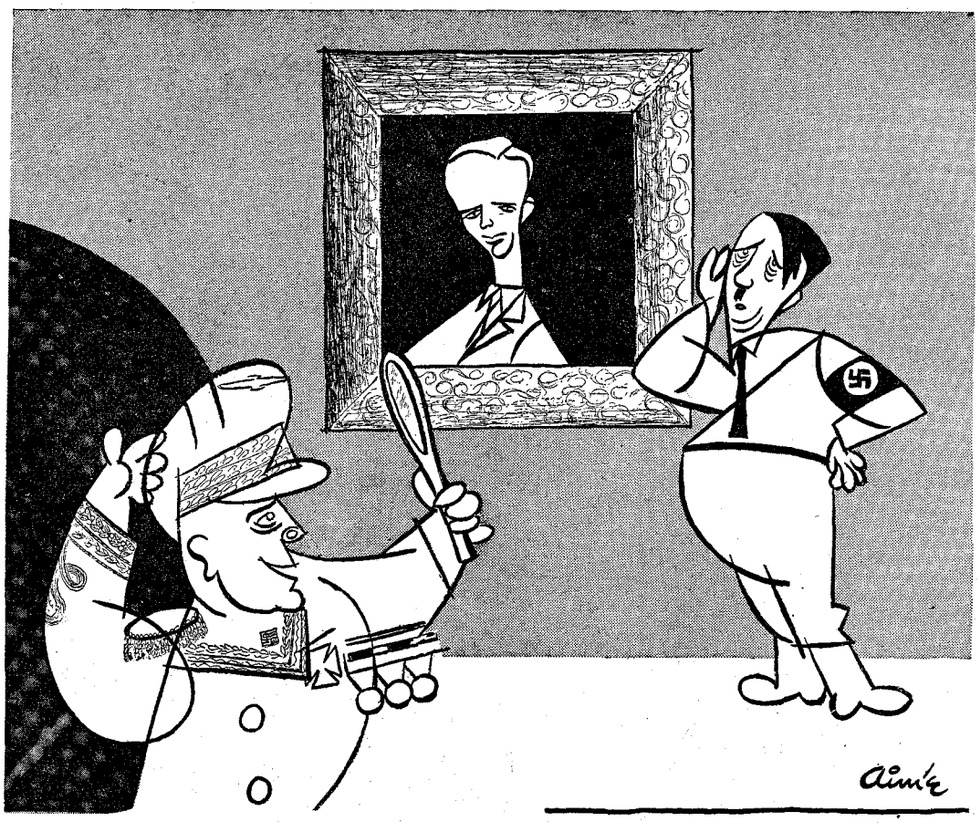

"Isn't it about time we gave Lindy another medal, Adolph?"

are not to any real degree thinned by the clamor for skilled and semi-skilled young workers.

TO SUM UP, defense has by no means solved unemployment. Instead, our economy has been turned from the production of peace-time goods to defense goods, using the same plants, the same equipment. Such substitution is short-sighted. Both defense equipment and consumers goods can and should be encouraged, if the unemployed are to be returned to work.

From the contention that the unemployed do not exist because they shouldn't be there, my prophet on the train draws an obvious conclusion: the need for WPA and home relief has vanished. Hence agitation for the complete abolition of all relief projects is only logical, in view of the disappearance of the jobless. That those who are most vociferous on this subject also want to pay lower wages and thereby enjoy higher profits, is a coincidence somewhat too pat. If relief is abolished, the hope is that the unemployed must then work under *any* conditions and for *any* wage. Wages are pushed down, unions are undermined, and profits go up and up and up, forever and a day. And truly, profits have gone up while wage increases have in no way been comparable to the take enjoyed by a few stockholders and managers. But the few always lust for more; this desire is part and parcel of the monopoly capitalist system.

The policy of cutting relief to the bone, and thereafter getting rid of the bone itself, is the surest way of guaranteeing further misery, deeper and more profound than anything yet experienced. It is interesting to compare federal contributions to purchasing power with the degree of prosperity enjoyed in the country. In 1936 the highest amount contributed—over $4,000,000,000—was to a large extent responsible for finally pulling the nation out of the worst depths following the 1929 collapse. The next year, this contribution was reduced by about three-quarters; the year, partly as a result of this reduction, ended in a new crisis, a new breakdown. In 1938 and 1939, contributions were over $2,000,000,000 and $3,000,000,000 respectively. Then came the war in Europe, acting as a temporary shot in the arm. The administration relied almost completely on this stimulus to solve problems; the presence of 9,000,000 idle is proof that the solution is not there.

During the fiscal year ending July 1, appropriations for WPA amounted to $1,350,000,000. This amount proved woefully inadequate. Suffering, malnutrition, gross poverty haunted America at a time when billboards, newspapers, radio, and every other form of communication blared out slogans urging the people to protect their way of life. The CIO pointed out that this way of life was shabby, to put it mildly. The unions advocated an appropriation of $2,500,000,000 for WPA.

The administration knew better. It raised no objection to Congress when that body did not even maintain the low 1941 grant, when it reduced the figure for WPA to $875,000,000. In addition, Congress refused to eliminate provisions barring the foreign-born from relief rolls, canceling the theatre projects, and calling for periodic, witch-hunting investigations of those on relief.

At the present moment 1,415,000 receive meager relief from WPA—half of those eligible. The new budget will, according to WPA Commissioner Howard O. Hunter, "mean a reduction of above 415,000 in the number of workers now employed, and the closing down within thirty days of all WPA projects in 1500 counties, or about one-half the counties in the United States." Thus, WPA will provide employment on an average for about 941,315 workers per month, a drop of 44.6 percent from 1939, and less than ten percent of those without jobs or income.

Such is the situation. My wiseacre on the train shrugs his shoulders and says that people who can't get work are no good anyhow, and so the whole affair is of no concern to persons like himself. This sort of ugly rationalization denies the right of the unemployed, so often affirmed even by President Roosevelt, to work or to relief. These are days of great menace. The battle is now on over the world to smash fascism lest it devour us. We learned in the days of the Spanish war that fascism can be fought only by using the strongest weapon—the spread of democracy. Today, we demand of all people that they defend their way of life which we say is worth intense sacrifice and even the willingness to die. And still at home, we demean our people, we condemn millions to starvation and misery. This is not defense—it is arming the enemy against ourselves.

Monopoly capitalism in the United States, like monopoly capitalism everywhere, operates for profits and profits alone, which only too clearly have nothing to do with the needs of the people. Certainly, the monopolists will oppose the O'Brien and Marcantonio bills now before Congress. The bills are similar. The Marcantonio proposal, somewhat broader in scope, provides for WPA jobs for all able workers, without discrimination of any kind; for WPA wages to be equal to prevailing hourly rates for similar work in private industry; for application of the National Labor Relations Act to labor relations between WPA employees and the administration; for direct relief grants by the federal government to those states which have established decent minimum standards of relief. This bill is designed to increase America's safety—appropriations for guns and battleships are by no means sufficient defense. For the presence of unemployment saps the nation's strength.

My friend, the prophet, doesn't agree. "Things are all right," he says. "I'm sick of hearing about WPA and all this other humanitarian nonsense. All it amounts to is coddling a lot of people who are being ruined by such treatment. . . ." There are many others in this country who don't agree with him. They feel a genuine relief program imperative for a nation involved in the life-and-death struggle against fascism. They recognize the attack against the unemployed at home is only another phase of the attack against democracy from abroad. BRUCE MINTON.

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THE UNIONS WIN THIS ROUND

A few weeks ago the tories in the House and Senate were certain of the victory of the anti-strike May bill. Adam Lapin reports on how they were defeated.

Washington.

THE labor-baiting crowd in the House was a pretty pathetic spectacle when vote after vote the other day made it clear that the anti-labor provisions of the May bill were doomed to defeat. Rep. Howard Smith of Virginia, with his pince-nez waving in the air and his old-fashioned wing collar badly ruffled, complained that CIO "goon squads" had intimidated Congress. Rep. Leslie C. Arends of Illinois, a relative newcomer to the anti-labor racket, blamed it all on Harry Bridges.

Of course, Smith was oversimplifying a little. The key to the upset of the tory group in the House was the unity of all wings of the labor movement, the AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods as well as the CIO, in opposing the May bill and other anti-strike measures. But the CIO lobby, which included 250 union representatives over a period of three weeks and was reinforced by a special legislative conference with 300 union leaders in attendance, helped plenty.

Not that the danger of anti-labor legislation has completely passed. Sen. Bob Reynolds and Rep. Andy May will head the conferees who will work up the final draft of the Connally-May bill which was originally designed simply to give deferment to men over twenty-eight. They may still try to write into the final bill the Senate amendment giving the President power to use troops against strikers. And the fact remains that any member of the tory Rules Committee may call up the Vinson anti-strike bill at a moment's notice. The important thing, however, is that the CIO, almost overnight, changed the atmosphere on Capitol Hill. It will be recalled that but a few weeks ago the Senate, ostensibly more disposed to be friendly to labor than the House, passed the Connally bill by a vote of 67 to 7.

What the CIO lobby succeeded in doing was reasserting the political strength of labor. The CIO demonstrated the fact that the professional anti-labor boys in Congress, like Hitler, are not invincible. It proved that labor wins on the legislative front through aggressive political action rather than through appeasement of big business and monopoly. Those trade unionists who have followed Sidney Hillman in taking a speak-softly-go-easy line should get some food for thought from this event.

Hillman had long felt that it was impossible to buck the anti-labor hysteria which appeared to be dominant in Congress only a couple of weeks ago. Essentially he seemed to accept the big-business premise that domestic reaction must go hand in hand with the fight against Hitlerism abroad. At least it looked as though he considered the fight against reaction as futile. This is the reason that he backed the President in sending the troops against the North American strikers. This is the reason that he considered it his function to help Rep. Carl Vinson of Georgia rewrite and perhaps soften his compulsory mediation bill, rather than to speak up boldly against the measure.

John L. Lewis, as well as CIO president Philip Murray, challenged this whole conception of the necessity of appeasing reaction. Here was the essence of the clash between Lewis and the Hillman supporters at the recent CIO legislative conference. Lewis and Murray were sustained in several unanimous votes. The CIO leaders without dissent approved a vigorous last minute drive against the anti-labor bills in Congress, reaffirmed their intention to press for higher wages and better living conditions, and criticized the administration for the use of troops against strikers as well as for its refusal to oppose the Vinson and May bills. The straightforward fighting policies of the conference were vindicated three days later when the House rejected the anti-labor provisions of the May bill by 220 to 150.

CLOSELY RELATED to the fight of the CIO against fascism at home is, of course, the struggle against Hitlerism abroad. The realization that a victory for Hitler would strengthen monopoly and reaction in the United States is becoming increasingly widespread in the trade union movement. This broad problem will no doubt be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of the CIO executive board. It is to be hoped that on this issue as well the CIO will recognize the need for aggressive leadership by labor. The labor movement cannot trust the fight against Hitlerism to those who would impose it at home.

"Reforestation" by Helen West Heller from American Prints, AAC

Much of the criticism that Lewis and other CIO leaders have directed against Hillman has been centered on the fact that Hillman has fronted for William Knudsen and the other dollar-a-year boys in the OPM, that he has surrendered to monopoly, that he has not been a real force within the OPM for a democratic defense program. But at the present time particularly, the rejection of Hillman's appeasement of big business is by no means tantamount to a rejection of the need for defeating Hitler.

A case in point was the action of the CIO conference in criticizing the creation of Hillman's new Defense Labor Advisory Committees, which are supposed to give labor a greater voice in the defense program. An obvious criticism is the fact that the setup of these committees is patently undemocratic. They will be handpicked by Hillman rather than by the unions in the various industries involved. Even more important is the fact that these committees are purely advisory. They are to have no real power. It can be pointed out that these committees are analogous to the Defense Industry Advisory Committees which will represent business in dealing with the OPM. The only trouble is that the industry committees will confer with Knudsen, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., William K. Batt, John D. Biggers, and other spokesmen for big business. The cards are obviously stacked in favor of the business advisory committees and against labor.

THE CIO CONDEMNED this plan and instead approved CIO President Murray's proposal for industry councils representing both labor and business to plan and coordinate defense production. Regardless of the possible defects in Murray's plan it moves in the right direction by demanding that labor's responsibility and leadership in the fight against Hitlerism be recognized. The CIO executive board meeting, which has been postponed because of Murray's illness, is expected to give further consideration to a campaign around this plan.

It will meet when CIO prestige has been enhanced by a number of important developments. Most obvious of these are the defeat of the anti-strike features of the May bill and the new Ford contract. A slightly humorous touch is added to this picture of successes by Martin Dies' charge that the CIO was also responsible for his ignominious defeat in the senatorial race in Texas. These developments present the CIO with a real opportunity to give leadership to the entire nation by working out a rounded program that includes defense of the rights of the people at home combined with an equally vigorous struggle against Hitlerism abroad.

ADAM LAPIN.

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A STUDY IN OPPOSITES: *The* USSR *and the* FASCIST COUNTRIES

For almost two years millions of Americans were victimized by one of the greatest propaganda lies in history: the lie that the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany were allies and that there is an affinity between Communism and fascism. Now for the first time these millions are beginning to learn that the principles of the Soviet system and of the fascist dictatorships are at opposite poles. To illustrate the direct antithesis between the two, "New Masses" presents this series of contrasting features. It is adapted from a statement issued nearly two years ago by four hundred leading figures in education, the arts and sciences, and published in the Aug. 29, 1939, issue of "New Masses."

THE FASCIST STATES

War and Enslavement

RUTHLESS imperialist war and the enslavement of peoples—this is the primary objective of fascist foreign policy. The open fascist offensive against international peace started with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 which, six years later, developed into outright warfare against the whole of China. In 1935 came fascist Italy's attack on Ethiopia; in 1936 the combined assault of Hitler and Mussolini on Spain; in 1938-39 Nazi Germany's seizure, through the tactic of brute blackmail and brigandage, of Austria, the Sudetenland, and then the rest of Czechoslovakia, not to mention the Italian rape of Albania. In all these aggressions the fascist rulers were aided by the collaboration, direct or indirect, of the other imperialist governments, particularly those of Britain and France. In the case of Spain our own government helped the fascist bandits with its arms embargo, while in the Far East it continues to appease Japan with large shipments of oil and other vital war materials.

Fascist aggression and appeasement finally culminated in world catastrophe: the second imperialist war which began in September, 1939. That war has seen the conquest by Germany of France (where treason by fifth columnists in the government and the army command was a major factor), Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Ru-

THE SOVIET UNION

Fights for No Imperialist Ends

THE Soviet Union is waging war against Nazi Germany and its allies because it has been attacked. It seeks no loot since the class which is interested in private profit, in the exploitation of the wealth of other nations—the capitalist class—has been eliminated. Imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism. The struggle for markets, raw materials, and spheres for capital investment is a law of its life. A socialist system, based on a totally different principle, production for use, necessarily does not participate in this struggle and therefore is free from the causes of modern wars. Thus the peace policy which the USSR has pursued throughout its existence has been the product not of weakness (as the Nazi army is now discovering), nor of the fact that it had plenty of territory (the war-mongering czarist empire had more), but of the economic relations within the country. These economic relations also determine the nature of the aims for which the Soviet Union is now fighting and give its entire war effort a genuinely anti-fascist liberating character.

Ever since the establishment of the Soviet government the primary objective of its foreign policy was the maintenance of world peace. It signed the Kellogg Peace Pact, joined the League of Nations, and proposed plans for disarmament. With the

THE FASCIST STATES

scientific truth and moral principle, go far beyond legitimate pride in the historical achievements of the German people. They glorify the pure "Aryan" Germans as the chosen of the earth, superior to all other peoples and therefore rightfully entitled to rule the globe.

Thus, the concept of the brotherhood of man and the equality of nations has no place in the Nazi philosophy. It is not just Jews who are held in contempt. The subject Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Belgians, Dutch, Yugoslavs, and other peoples conquered by the Nazis are subjected to barbarous persecution. At the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin Nazi officials accused America of bad sportsmanship for entering "fleetfooted animals," that is, Negroes, in the races. Hitler and his followers look down upon both the English and French as degenerate peoples. And in the long run even the Italians and Japanese will receive the same sort of consideration.

As a domestic policy the official inculcation and carrying through of racial chauvinism in the fascist states aim to deflect into a blind alley the growing unrest of the peoples over their economic difficulties. At the same time the stirring up of racial animosities abroad weakens unity against fascist aggression and sows the fatal seeds of fascist regimes in other lands.

A Monopolist Economy Run for Profit

THERE has been no basic change in property relations in the fascist countries. The means of production and distribution are still in the hands of individual capitalists, whether in industry, agriculture

THE SOVIET UNION

versely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, shall be punishable by law." The Supreme Congress of the country has a Soviet of Nationalities equal in all respects to the other legislative chamber.

The many different minority groups, their economic antagonisms ended because of the security and well-being guaranteed by socialism, now live in happiness and harmony, each with its own language, its own schools, and its own institutions in general. The result has been a veritable renaissance of minority arts and cultures in Russia along the lines of the general principle "national in form and socialist in content."

The Soviet attitude toward the Jews is particularly striking in the light of the long history of discriminations, indignities, and pogroms to which they were subjected in czarist times. Today anti-Semitism is not only officially a crime, but is in practice unknown. Everywhere in the Soviet Union Jews live on terms of security and equality with their fellow citizens, occupying prominent posts in governmental, economic and cultural institutions. And the Soviet government has established the special Autonomous Region of Biro-Bidjan, where all Jews who so wish may make their home and develop peacefully their own economy and culture.

Socialization of Production and Distribution

WHILE there still exists an infinitesimal percentage of private enterprise, the land, the natural resources, the industries,

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mania, Yugoslavia, and Greece, while Bulgaria, Hungary, Finland, and Italy itself have become little more than provinces of the Third Reich. And finally has come the

greatest crime of all: the attack on the Soviet Union. This creates a direct threat to the United States such as did not previously exist. Meanwhile Japan has continued to prosecute its invasion of China. And by the tripartite pact which it signed with Germany and Italy in the fall of 1940 it entered into a formal military alliance with the other two partners in plunder.

With the growing impoverishment of their peoples and the increasing economic strains at home, the fascist governments seek increasingly to ease domestic pressures through outward expansion. They try to divert the attention of their restive populations by means of foreign aggrandizement played up as a noble and glamorous adventure. The fascist leaders frankly give praise to war as one of the finer things of life. Mussolini has said: "War is to man what maternity is to woman. We reject the absurdity of eternal peace, which is foreign to our creed and temperament." His son Vittorio called war "the most complete and beautiful of all sports."

Persecution of Racial Minorities

THE subordination and persecution of national and racial minorities is an intrinsic part of the fascist program and philosophy. The treatment of the Jews in Nazi Germany is of course the outstanding example. In their anti-Semitic excesses the Nazis have outdone even the Russian czars. German Jews today, solely on the grounds of racial origin, have been denied by law the most elementary political, economic, and social rights. They have been degraded, segregated, exiled, boycotted, and killed.

The Nazis' racist doctrines, contrary to the USSR became the foremost champion of collective security, seeking to unite the peoples and governments of the capitalist democracies to save world peace. It fought in the League of Nations for complete sanctions against fascist Italy in the Ethiopian war and gave material aid to victims of fascist aggression such as Spain and China. With the increasing boldness of the fascists and the inactivity of the League, the Soviet Union concluded mutual assistance pacts with France, Czechoslovakia, and the Mongolian People's Republic.

The British and French appeasement governments sabotaged collective security, sold out Spain, Austria, and Czechoslovakia to Hitler, and at Munich entered into a partnership with Germany which sought to direct Nazi expansion eastward at the expense of the USSR and a number of small states. Thereupon the Soviet government acted to protect itself and signed the non-aggression pact with Germany in August 1939. By this pact the USSR compelled Hitler to abandon temporarily his anti-Soviet crusade, and for nearly two years safeguarded its neutrality in a war which had been precipitated by fascist aggression and the imperialist intrigues of the British and French governments. In those two years it increased its economic and military might, improved its strategic frontiers, frustrated the plans to use the border states as springboards for an anti-Soviet war, and brought socialism to 23,000,000 additional people. When the attack finally came on June 22, 1941, the Soviet Union was much better prepared to meet it, and instead of being left to face the Nazi legions alone, it has been offered assistance by Britain and the USA.

Free Brotherhood of Peoples

IN THE first week of its power, the Soviet government issued a decree proclaiming equality and free development for all distinct national and racial groups within the confines of Soviet Russia. This has been the Soviet policy ever since. Equal rights for the different nationalities and races of the USSR were recently reasserted as "an irrevocable law" in the new Soviet constitution.

The constitution states: "Any direct or indirect limitation of these rights, or con-

(Continued in column 4)

banking, or any other section of the economy. The decisive economic power in the nation is wielded by a small group of reactionary capitalists, in particular the armament monopolists. Economic enterprise is undeniably run for profits and super-profits at the expense of the well-being of the people as a whole. (For data on the status of big business in Germany see "Germany's Real Rulers" by G. S. Jackson in NEW MASSES of Feb. 11, 1941.)

Though state controls are more extensive in the fascist nations than in other capitalist lands, these controls are exercised on behalf of the armament and heavy industry capitalists and large landholders. Such controls have in no sense overcome, but on the contrary have intensified, the fundamental economic contradictions inherent in the fascist system.

Totalitarian Planning for War

WHATEVER degree of planning exists within the fascist countries is planning for the express purpose of arming the nation and preparing for aggression. In effect, this means planning for poverty, since the workers are expected and required to subordinate their whole existence to the needs of the state for enhanced military resources. Living standards and real wages in Germany, Italy, and Japan have steadily declined. Because of this, and the program of longer hours and industrial speedup, the health of the populations under fascism increasingly deteriorates.

The foreign trade of the fascist dictatorships is of course geared entirely to their tremendous armaments programs. General Goering's famous "Cannon instead of butter" has become a universal fascist slogan. Since the outbreak of the war there has been a further reduction of the quantity and quality of the food available for the people, while in the conquered countries millions are faced with starvation.

The intense industrial activity and comparative lack of unemployment in the fascist nations are primarily a result of the huge armaments production and do not indicate any solution of basic economic problems.

Union are collectively owned and administered. The successful collectivization of agriculture, that is, the merging of some 25,000,000 peasant holdings into about 250,000 big mechanized, cooperative farms, meant a far-reaching agrarian revolution in Russia second in importance only to the social and political revolution of 1917. It is the socialization of production and distribution that has made possible the remarkable Soviet economic advances and constitutes the foundation of its military power.

The economic facilities of the Soviet republic are operated for use and not for profit. The basic principle is that there should be no exploitation of the labor of others. The chief goal of the economic system is the provision to every individual of more and more consumers' goods, that is, *personal* property like clothes, houses, furniture, and automobiles.

Socialist Planning for Abundance

DEMOCRATICALLY administered socialist planning in Soviet Russia has for its goal the achievement of a life of security and abundance for all of the people. Since the start of the Five Year Plans in 1928, the standard of living has risen rapidly.

During the Second Five Year Plan, 1933-38, consumers' goods and producers' wages more than doubled.

Industrial production in the first three years of the Third Five Year Plan increased forty-four percent. In this period the output of consumers' goods rose 33 percent. If 1929, the last pre-crisis year of capitalism, is taken as 100, Soviet production had in 1940 reached 534, compared to 111 in the United States. At the same time the material well-being of the workers has steadily improved. In the first three years of the Third Five Year Plan payrolls increased 50 percent.

Through its controls over production, money, wages, and prices Soviet planning is able to keep production and consumption in harmony by assuring that the people always have the purchasing power to buy back the goods produced. Depression and unemployment have been permanently abolished, with the constitution guaranteeing a job and material security to everyone.

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Destruction of Trade Unions

ONE of the first steps which a fascist regime takes is to destroy the trade unions, root and branch. The individual employer under fascism wishes to be able to exploit the workers according to his own free, profit-motivated will; the state, representing the dominant business groups as a whole, wishes to go ahead with its armament and aggression programs unhampered by any sort of opposition from the working class. The ten and twelve-hour day is now a normal phenomenon in Germany.

In place of the old trade unions, most of whose leaders are dead or in concentration camps, Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco have set up fake workers' organizations with control from the top down and with democratic procedures as completely absent as in the nation at large.

The fascist dictatorships, furthermore, have destroyed not only the trade unions, but *all* types of organizations of the people which offered any possibility of united resistance to totalitarian rule.

The Degradation of Woman

IN THE fascist nations there has been a decided intensification of the traditional view of the ruling-class male that women are inferior beings and fit only for the well-known trinity of "Kuche, Kirche, Kinder" (Kitchen, Church, Children). Family life centers around the needs and desires of the male partner. The breeding of children augments the fighting manpower of the warmaking state. The ruling dictators, while crying out one day that their people are being suffocated from lack of space, urge on the next the bearing of more and more children.

At the same time women are dismissed or barred from all important governmental posts and are automatically paid lower wages than men in the more humble positions open to them.

Women are literally regarded as cattle, used for breeding purposes or slave labor as the Nazis require. The decree making it compulsory for all women wishing to enter employment to [illegible] in a year of labor

The Expansion of Trade Unions

OUT of a working population of 28,000,000 eligible for membership, almost 24,000,000 Soviet workers belong to one of the 166 unions. Membership is voluntary. The Soviet trade unions carry on regular collective bargaining with the managements over wages, hours, and conditions. Labor protection is more highly developed in the USSR than anywhere else in the world. A seven-hour day is the rule in industry, with a six-hour day for some forms of heavier labor. In 1940, because of the imminence of war, the work day was lengthened by one hour and the five-day week was supplanted by the six-day week.

The Soviet trade unions are free to put much of their energy into educational and administrative work. They have full responsibility for insurance benefits which substantially supplement wage income in the USSR. And they are active in various community enterprises such as the maintenance of factory restaurants and recreation centers.

The Emancipation of Woman

IT WAS Lenin who said that no nation can be free until a whole half of its population, "the working woman, enjoys equal rights with men and until she is no longer kept a slave by her household and family." This idea has become a basic principle in the Soviet Union and has been written into the constitution as follows: "Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life." The realization of these rights of women is ensured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest, social insurance, and education; and by state protection of the interests of mother and child, pregnancy leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries, and kindergartens.

It is significant that 38 percent of the students in Soviet higher educational institutions are of the female sex. As of 1938, 16 percent of the deputies in the All-Union Congress of Soviets were women, compared

Science Perverted for War and Mysticism

GERMAN science, once unrivaled in the entire world, has become the humble handmaiden to the gods of war and racist propaganda. In the important field of industrial technique and invention, fascist science in all the totalitarian countries is primarily concerned with speeding up and making more efficient the machine of aggression. In Nazi Germany, especially, one of the chief aims of scientific activity is to discover ways and means of making ever more numerous *Ersatz* goods, that is, substitute products for the genuine article which can no longer be manufactured because the necessary materials have been commandeered for military purposes.

The sciences of biology, psychology, and sociology must all prove the mystic Nazi doctrine of pure and impure races, of the superiority of "Aryans," of the all-decisive influence of heredity and the unimportance of environment. The result is a pseudo-scientific mumbo-jumbo on a level with the eerie superstitions of the most primitive tribe.

The fascists in general retain the enervating, compensatory myths of supernaturalism. Those of them who turn against Christian theory substitute for it ancient tribal superstitions like Wotan-worship.

Democracy Considered "A Putrid Corpse"

MUSSOLINI'S statement that democracy is "a putrid corpse" expresses accurately the fascist attitude toward the democratic way of life. The fascists intend that their dictatorship shall go on forever. Hitler talks of the Nazi form of government lasting at least a thousand years. In fascist theory there is no thought of, or provision for, an ultimate transition to democracy.

As the totalitarian states mature and their political forms crystallize, they become increasingly undemocratic and anti-democratic in nature, stamping out more and more completely all elements and organizations which might serve as a rallying point for democratic expression and action. This is why the Nazis have been constantly

Science in the Service of the People

THE most basic educational aim of all in the Soviet Union is to teach the people the methods and conclusions of modern experimental science.

In every sphere of activity and in every part of the country scientific truths and procedures are replacing oldtime superstitions and outworn social-economic theory. The number of professional scientists has gone up from three thousand to forty thousand since czarist days.

The system of socialist planning turns the whole nation into one huge laboratory in which scientific experiments of unparalleled scope can be carried on. Soviet science is geared to the service of the people and does not have a prior obligation to the cause of profit, war, or anything else. At the same time Soviet scientists are thoroughly awake to the need of "pure" research more or less remote from immediate utilitarian pressures. Outstanding achievements of Soviet science are the magnificent, country-wide system of public health, the exploration of the Arctic regions, and the non-stop flights to America.

The philosophical counterpart of Soviet science is the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism, which offers the individual an inclusive and integrated way of life.

Evolution Toward Fullest Democracy

THE proletarian dictatorship has from the beginning been a dictatorship only against the minority of exploiters and enemies of the people. For the overwhelming majority it has been a broader and richer democracy than has ever been known before. It is the people who are the rulers of the USSR, and the whole preoccupation of the state is with the welfare of the people. As Premier Joseph Stalin said several years ago: "Leaders come and go, but the people remain. Only the people are immortal. Everything else is transient."

Soviet democracy was further extended by the adoption in December 1936 of the new constitution after a nationwide discus-

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service on farms or in households was later extended to *all* unmarried women under twenty-five.

The Debasement of Culture

THE retrogression of culture in the book-burning, art-killing, genius-banishing fascist states is a truism of these times. The crisis in economic and political affairs is naturally reflected in the cultural realm. As more and more of the economic resources and human energies go into the preparation for and waging of war, less and less is available for cultural activities.

From 116,154 university students in Germany in 1932-33, there has been a decline to 67,082 in 1936-37, and to 53,753 in 1937-38, representing a loss of 42.2 percent of the student body for 1936-37 and of 53.7 percent for 1937-38. The 1936-37 figures show that in certain fields of science the loss has been even greater than the average: e.g., 47.1 percent in engineering and 64.4 percent in mathematics and the natural sciences taken as a whole. This decline has continued.

In Nazi Germany there is hardly one outstanding world figure in art or literature who has not fled the country, been exiled or thrown into prison.

It goes without saying that there is no place in Hitler's Reich for the numerous German artists and writers of note who are of Jewish origin. And the fascist "civilizers" ban even the works of Jews long dead, such as the symphonies of Mendelssohn and the poems of Heine.

Under fascism the whole of education, from the tenderest years to the more mature, from physical training to reading in the classics, is turned into the glorification of military conquest, the attuning of mind and body to the ferocities of war.

Since fascism is anti-democratic in its very essence, there is no room where it rules for such a thing as cultural democracy. The masses of the people are looked down upon with contempt as innately inferior and incapable of developing the capacity to appreciate intellectual and artistic pursuits.

with 2 percent in the British House of Commons and 1 percent in the Congress of the United States.

Unprecedented Advance of Culture

CULTURAL expansion and development in the USSR have gone hand in hand with material progress. The ultimate goal in the USSR is to build, upon the foundations of economic security and equilibrium, a culture of socialist humanism unequaled in both qualitative achievement and the proportion of the people participating.

Art and literature, drama and music have in truth become the possession of all the people of the Soviet Union. During the first two Five Year Plans illiteracy decreased to less than 5 percent of the population as compared with the 70 percent figure of 1913. The number of children in primary and secondary schools increased from eight million to almost thirty million and the total students in a greatly expanded system of higher educational institutions grew five times over. As of 1938 there were 550,000 such students in the Soviet Union, compared with a total of 416,000 in the comparable institutions of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan put together.

The Third Five Year Plan has seen a further advance in the cultural development of the Soviet peoples. Government appropriations for social and cultural purposes rose from 35,200,000,000 rubles in 1938 to 41,700,000,000 rubles in 1940, or 18.5 percent. The 1941 budget provides for a further 14.6 increase in funds for social and cultural measures. In 1941-42 the number of pupils in elementary schools will reach 36,200,000, while the number of university students will be 657,000, a thirteen percent rise over the previous year.

The cultural awakening has extended to tens of millions of formerly ignorant and illiterate peasants as well as to the once backward minority groups. The masses of the Soviet people have become voracious readers, with newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and books being printed and circulated in billions of copies.

violating religious freedom and bearing down hard on both Protestants and Catholics. In addition, as the economic strains and stresses multiply in the fascist countries and their populations grow more restive, the methods of terror and tyranny must be redoubled in order to maintain the regime.

The fascists are so bent on stamping out the idea of democracy that they consider the existence of even partially democratic governments in other lands an intolerable menace and only slightly less deplorable than Bolshevism itself. Hence the fascists wish to bring about the downfall of the capitalist democracies, not only in order to redivide their territories, but also to suppress all traces of the democratic ideal in the world.

It is significant that Nazi Germany not only has no constitution, but tore up the advanced and progressive Weimar Constitution of the post-war republic. Said Hitler to the Reich commissioners on July 6, 1933: ". . . We must now get rid of the last remains of democracy, especially the methods of voting and the decisions by the majority, such as still often occur in the communes, in economic organizations, and in working committees. . . ."

Civilization Moves Steadily Backward

IN EVERY country where they have come to power the fascists have set back the clock of history and plunged their peoples into a new Dark Age. Fascism decrees the end of almost everything that civilized men hold dear. It means unceasing violence, in both domestic and foreign affairs. It means war and imperialism and the roar of bombers overhead. It means the erection of racial and national prejudice into a major principle of government. It means the death of democracy and labor's rights, of civil liberties and academic freedom. It means the burning of the books and the degradation of culture. It means a decline in living standards and the permanence of economic crisis. Civilization goose-steps steadily backward.

sion in which millions participated. Since the Soviet idea has been from the start that true democracy demands certain economic and cultural foundations, this constitution reflects the immense progress that has been made. Its new "rights of man," cited in the introductory statement, make clear that the socialist concept of democracy covers the significant categories of economic, cultural, sex, and racial democracy. In addition, the constitution gives the franchise to all persons of both sexes eighteen years of age or more and guarantees by law freedom of religious worship, of speech, of press, of assembly, and demonstrations.

The Soviet Union has introduced many new democratic forms which implement the law. Through shop meetings and wall newspapers, the Soviet citizen exercises his democratic rights at the place where he works, through tenants' meetings at the place where he lives. Through production and planning conferences he takes part in the democratic control of expanding production and improving quality. Members of the collective farms plan their own activities and choose the farm management. The Soviet people subject every aspect of their country's life to constant criticism and self-criticism at meetings and in communications to the newspapers and magazines.

Civilization Moves Steadily Ahead

EMERGING from a backward, semi-feudal economy in which 85 percent of the population were primitive-minded peasants, from a czarist dictatorship outstanding in reaction, inefficiency, and corruption, and from eight devastating years of the Great War, civil war, intervention, and famine all combined, the Soviet people have built, in a little more than two decades, a new and promising civilization based on socialist foundations in economics and culture.

This socialist society is certainly no Utopia, and it has a long distance to go in many respects. But its main problems are those of growth and not decay. And unquestionably in the ways that we call *civilized* the Soviet Union continues to forge steadily ahead.

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★

He Must Be Freed

"GOOD soldiers make good allies." So NEW MASSES said last week. Today Earl Browder sits unjustly imprisoned in Atlanta penitentiary. The champion of labor and the people, who first warned America against deadly fascism and its handmaidens of appeasement, who fought hardest to strike down the enemy before Hitler's war for conquest could engulf the world, is locked away at this crucial time. Now, more than ever, the people have need of him. And the people can free him. At the convention of the National Maritime Union delegates spoke up for Browder's freedom and a resolution was unanimously passed calling for immediate review of "all cases of imprisonment in which technical violations have been used as a pretext to do away with the rights and civil liberties of our citizens." At every meeting, in every union, club, and gathering where men and women pledge their unity against Hitlerism, the cry must be raised, "Free Earl Browder."

Syrian Armistice

THE weird vest-pocket war in Syria of British and Free French troops against the Vichy forces has come to an end with the capitulation of the Vichy high commissioner and military commander, Gen. Henri Dentz. It took the British five weeks to subdue the inferior forces facing them—hardly an impressive showing. Political considerations, the desire not to exacerbate relations with Vichy, are believed to have strongly affected the conduct of the war. As we go to press, the armistice terms have not yet been made public, but they can hardly be much different from those which Vichy rejected only a day before an agreement was finally reached. One of the Vichy objections was to negotiating with representatives of General de Gaulle, leader of the Free French movement. In the actual negotiations, however, de Gaullists participated. In vetoing the original armistice terms Vichy was obviously acting either directly under Nazi pressure, or was indulging in a face-saving gesture to placate Germany.

Though the campaign in Syria had become only a minor eddy in the great tidal struggle against Hitlerism, the successful termination of the conflict is of real importance in strengthening the whole British position in the Near East and Africa. With the British controlling Iraq, and Afghanistan bound by close ties to the Soviet Union, the only uncertain quantity in the arch that stretches from the eastern Mediterranean to India is Iran, where Axis agents have been active. Iran, however, also has cordial relations with the USSR, and it does not seem likely, in view of the British victory in Syria, that the Iranian government would be disposed to play the Axis game. The Syrian victory likewise tends to lessen the threat to the Suez Canal and partly compensates for the Nazi conquest of Crete. It may also have an important effect on Turkey since it gives the British a common border with that country and thus helps counteract Nazi pressure.

What about the Syrian people? Their struggle for independence has been not the least of the Vichy government's headaches. When the British and Free French launched their undeclared war against the Vichy forces, General Catroux, de Gaullist leader, issued a statement promising independence. The British supported this statement. The armistice terms originally presented by the British to the Vichy commander reiterated this pledge. The question remains whether this promise is going to be kept in letter—by the creation of a puppet regime—or in spirit as well.

Spain Will Rise Again

DESPITE Serrano Suner's Gestapo-dominated police, millions of Spaniards from La Linea to Port Bou will be marking this week the fifth anniversary of their great war to preserve the republic against the fascists. Elsewhere, the world over, progressive men are remembering the historic lessons Spain taught: that fascism is not invincible on the field of battle, that its greatest weapon is treachery, its greatest army the fifth column, and that its slogan "War on Communism" is the most dangerous, anti-democratic concept in the world today. The justice of the republican cause has been underscored in blood upon the pages of history: the warnings of the friends of Spain have been tragically proved right: that Spain was fighting a war for all mankind, and that if she lost, the flames of war would lick their way across the Pyrenees to all corners of the earth. And that slogan, born out of the struggle of the magnificent Spanish people, "It is better to die fighting on your feet, than to live on your knees," has been adopted by all free peoples. The President of the United States used it himself in a public address recently.

For that reason our State Department's policy toward Franco is mystifying to all anti-fascists. It reeks of the very appeasement policy that undermined the Spanish republic. According to a report from Washington July 11 the Treasury Department provided a general license lifting the freezing controls on Spanish assets in the United States upon "promises" by Franco's agents here that they would "not attempt to circumvent the purposes of the original freezing order." How can any responsible governmental agency accept the promises of the Franco regime? How can it rely upon the pledge of the Madrid government which today, more than ever, is the Iberian agency of the Wilhelmstrasse? In this respect British, as well as American policy in Spain, is tragically, dangerously, at fault. That ingrained appeaser, Sir Samuel Hoare, Britain's ambassador to Madrid, has committed his government to various aids to Franco, and that despite the fact that reliable American correspondents estimate 100,000 Germans are in Spain; that the Marquess de Aguilar has stated publicly in Washington that no less than twelve German divisions are bivouaced in the Spanish countryside; that the roads and parts of the railways leading toward Gibraltar have been repaired with Nazi money; and that the modern batteries of El Hacha on the other side of the Strait are gleaming and ready—all under German supervision and control. After all was it not Admiral Rader, commander-in-chief of the Nazi Navy, who said that the power which mastered the Vigo-Canaries-Azores triangle would have the greatest chance of winning the war? And does that coastal line not become more than ever important with Britain's hopes to establish an effective second front?

Today, on the anniversary of Spain's tremendous trials, mastery of the lessons of Spain becomes imperative. It behooves all men of good will to remember Stalin's greetings to the Spanish republic: that its cause is the cause of all progressive mankind. That stands as true today as it did a half decade ago. Understanding that fact will ensure the sovereignty of all lands still uncontrolled by Nazism; it will hasten the day, too, when the Spanish people will retrieve their good earth from the abysmal fascist beast.

Gropper

Frontlines in the Rear

"GUERRILLA units, mounted and foot, must be formed, diversionist groups must be organized to combat enemy troops, to foment guerrilla warfare everywhere. . . . In occupied regions conditions must be made unbearable for the enemy and all his accomplices. They must be hounded and annihilated at every step and all their measures frustrated."

So Premier Stalin told the Russian people in his radio address, urging them to action in all Soviet territory where the Nazi military has gained power. Already, even from countries where Nazi censorship blacks out most news, reports of the people's struggle behind the lines against fascism find their way to the outside world.

The New York *Times* correspondent Eugen Kovacs tells of the explosion of a munitions dump in Hungary and of a fire in a petroleum refinery. A secret radio broadcasts in Rumania. "Anti-Russia sentiment in Hungary is almost non-existent. . . ." Kovacs

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writes: "The 'crusade' against communism is unpopular in Hungary and it can be taken for granted that sabotage in that country will become more intense. The war is equally unpopular in Rumania."

In Holland riots broke out against food shortages. The Nazis were forced to use troops to quell the populace. The Italian journalist Curzio Malaparte describes peasant revolts in Rumania near Jassy, where for three days the people waged an armed revolt against the German and Rumanian troops who were confiscating foodstuffs. Ten miles away, the Red Army engaged the *panzerdivisionen;* but the fascist initial offensive was slowed and disrupted by the rage of the people behind the lines.

In Germany Catholic bishops at Fulda protested for the first time since the war began the Nazi policy of suppressing religious freedom. In a pastoral letter, the bishops warned that the "existence or non-existence of Christianity" was at stake in Germany. Polish partisans sniped at German supply trains and swooped down on isolated Nazi units in surprise attacks. In Belgium riots occurred. The Skoda plant in Czechoslovakia was partially wrecked by unknown persons. In Norway a fish factory suddenly went up in smoke, and the number of sentences imposed on Norwegians for offenses against the Nazi army mount daily.

Behind the long front in Western Ukraine, in Latvia, wherever the German armies move, they are harassed by attacks which seriously interfere with their transportation system to the front, hinder offensives, and ruin morale. Soldiers of the Reich army seek any excuse to avoid night duty. Every rise in ground, every ditch, every stone might conceal a sniper, a raiding party which at any moment would open fire. A captured Nazi fuel-car driver told of "incredible difficulties" experienced by German supply trains and reserves going toward the front line. "Each hillock, each roadside bush, serves as good cover for the partisans," he said. "The [Nazi] Army command was compelled to assign a considerable number of tanks for protection of the columns carrying fuel. In spite of these measures, not a few soldiers and truck drivers found their graves on the way to the front. The partisans let the tanks pass and open fire on the trucks, kill the drivers, and set fire to the fuel. . . . In a frenzy the tank commanders open fire on forest and thicket."

The people's war is being waged in Europe. Behind the lines, wherever the Nazis swagger, the hatred and rage of the people hound the enemy and frustrate his plans.

Lozovsky

THESE are days when millions of Americans are un-learning what they've been taught about the Soviet people. In a military way history is finally interring the thousands of vain lies about Soviet weakness and lack of preparedness, the slanders about Soviet morale and the doubts about the devotion of the people. But un-learning is only half the process. Millions of Americans are also learning the truth for the first time, learning the names and careers of Soviet military leaders, glimpsing the development of the Soviet *individual,* his courage and loyalty under hardships, divining for the first time the great saga of planning and building which equipped the socialist world to repulse the invader.

One man we have especially enjoyed meeting—and it is as though we had all met him personally—is S. A. Lozovsky, the vice commissar for foreign affairs and assistant chief of the Soviet Information Bureau. He turns out to be a man of wit as well as wisdom, of pointed sarcasm and penetrating passion, instantly establishing a bond between his people and the rest of the world. He gives you a sense of those warm, strong human beings who comprise that remarkable generation which overthrew the czar and led their people to a new and higher level of human life. They are men who are in deadly earnest, yet men who can also laugh.

When informed about Vichy's decision to break relations with the USSR on the grounds that the Soviet embassy was undermining the French social order, Lozovsky replied that he did not know there was much of a "social order" left in unhappy France. He shuddered at the news that "mighty Albania" had also declared war against the USSR; and referring to the Nazi "news" releases, Lozovsky remarked that they bore as much relation to the truth as did Goebbels to Apollo. Concerning the Nazi dreams of conquest Lozovsky said: "Hitler will leave the Soviet Union faster than he entered, and unlike Napoleon, he will see the Kremlin only on picture postcards."

Men who are capable of humor in the midst of a life and death struggle are memorable men. They give us insight into the new humanism, the genuine depth and substance of Soviet civilization.

L'Affaire des Shorts

LIEUT. GEN. BEN LEAR, Commander of the Second Army, possesses a title considerably more dignified than the man. Of real dignity the general has almost nothing left—he has been revealed publicly as a person who combines pomposity and vindictiveness with the temperament of Donald Duck. We refer, of course, to *l'affaire des shorts.* Lieutenant General Lear couldn't take it when soldiers of the 110th Motor Transport, passing a Memphis golf course, yoo-hooed at some girls in shorts and, worse, kidded the general himself, whom they failed to recognize in his civilian golf clothes. The Second Army Commander went into a rage. Without even bothering to separate the innocent and guilty, he punished 325 soldiers by making them march fifteen miles and ride another 135 in 95-degree heat, from Memphis to Camp Robinson, Ark. One soldier was prostrated and others collapsed. Those who managed to keep going sang an original version of *Parlez Vous,* describing their predicament to the people they passed.

A number of things have already been said to Lieutenant General Lear, in immediate public protest. It has been pointed out that Prussian military discipline has no place in a democratic army. The serious thing to be recognized and acted upon is that this affair is probably not an isolated incident. It indicates the need for democratizing the army, freeing it not only of autocracy but of all racial discrimination, making it a people's army that represents as well as fights for the people. Both the American Youth Congress and National Maritime Union, at their recent conventions, urged higher pay for rank and file soldiers, more attention to their welfare, greater democracy in the command. Here is a program that will attract the support of both soldiers and civilians.

"We Didn't Just Talk"

AT ITS convention in Cleveland the National Maritime Union showed that it had learned the CIO lesson well. In a short six years the NMU has cleared away the chaos that existed in the days of corrupt unions financed by the shipowners. It has won contracts for the overwhelming majority of seamen on the East Coast, the Gulf, and the Great Lakes. It has gained for them better working conditions and higher wages, and greater safety for passengers and crew alike.

Now the NMU prepares to take a mighty step forward. The convention set up a fifty-eight-man national unity committee to bring the Pacific Coast maritime unions into a single joint organization that will unite all ship workers. Already representatives of the West Coast cooks and stewards, of the marine firemen and oilers, of the San Francisco Industrial Council have accepted the proposal. There remains only the working out of details to complete the merger.

The success of the NMU and all that its growth and strength imply for the labor movement as a whole must be credited to the militant policies followed by President Joseph Curran and other leaders of the union. For no union has faced issues more squarely, more directly, and no union administration can boast a more solid support among its membership. The NMU has been a consistent foe of all fascist tendencies. It has refused to retreat before the Red scare, but instead has challenged the Red-baiters, from Martin Dies and the shipowners, to company spies. The slanderers came to Cleveland to confuse and to split—"The idea," one of their spokesmen admitted, "was to get them [the Red-baiting resolutions] publicized in the newspapers." Their plot was exposed and unanimously condemned. Repudiated, those who had come to destroy had no alternative but to "resign"—before they were expelled.

At every step the convention delegates dealt firmly with the issues of the day. They urged all aid to the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Their guest speaker, Harry Bridges, pointed out, "For us there has been no change, as I see it. We don't backtrack to anyone in the matter of fighting fascism. We were the pioneers in this fight and did something—we didn't just talk. . . ."

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YOU CAN'T KEEP A GOOD MAN DOWN

In his autobiography W. C. Handy recreates the background of his famous blues. Up and down Beale Street. . . . A new translation of Engels' "Origin of the Family."

FATHER OF THE BLUES: *An Autobiography of W. C. Handy, edited by Arna Bontemps. Macmillan. $3.*

THE venerable William C. Handy is a rather unaccountable figure in most books on Negro music. Wilder Hobson, Hughes Panassie, and the editors of *Jazzmen* brush past him as though he did not belong to the subject of jazz. These writers stress the improvisatory aspects of jazz and consider the instrumentalists all-important—to the exclusion of the composer and publisher. Most writing on jazz has been of a romantic nature, all the way from Panassie's passionate strophes to the best and most factual chapters in *Jazzmen,* like William Russell's essay on Boogie Woogie. A misunderstanding of jazz arises from this lopsided approach; Duke Ellington is never fully explained because he is not considered as a composer; and W. C. Handy, because he is not an outstanding soloist, seems also to be consigned to the inexplicable.

Handy's autobiography may well be the signal for a new study of jazz; one that considers jazz as a social phenomenon, related most directly to the aspirations of the American Negro, and to be understood more fully in terms of his struggle for self-determination.

Father of the Blues is full of the social milieu in which Handy as a Negro struggled for his place. In his minstrel show days in the nineties the South was being tortured by the final triumph of the Bourbons over the legally freed Negro. This period saw the establishment of lynching as an institution. Handy had several close scrapes with the lynchers himself. In the North the style of discrimination was different; when Pace & Handy opened their New York publishing house in 1918 with a resounding hit, *A Good Man Is Hard to Find,* Handy learned how difficult it was for the Negro to come before the public on his merits. There was quite a battle even to get Negro singers recorded. But you couldn't keep the new music down and soon everyone knew about *Memphis Blues* and *St. Louis Blues.*

Handy's book shakes another myth of prevailing jazz criticism—the notion that the blues and hot jazz are the product of untrained musicians who have improvised notable tunes or have played them direct from the folk sources. While it is true that this is one characteristic of American jazz, it is not the whole story. Handy himself had competent musical training, and before he began to popularize the blues he taught music at the Agricultural & Mechanical College in Alabama. He once conducted a classical concert at A & M in 1900 and smuggled in a new tune called *My Ragtime Baby* by announcing it as *Greetings to Toussaint L'Ouverture.* Handy's own compositions come directly from folk sources. *Yellow Dog Blues* (1914) comes from a line Handy heard sung by an itinerant guitar player, "Gone where the Southern cross' the dog" . . . or at the junction of the Southern RR. and the Yazoo Delta RR., called the Yellow Dog. These same lines existed widely in the unwritten musical lore of the South, but Handy was the first to give them an arrangement and publication. This is true of many of his famous compositions; *St. Louis Blues, Memphis Blues, Beale Street Blues,* and *Hesitating Blues,* which have never gone out of fashion with "righteous" musicians and listeners. Handy's rambling and informal autobiography suggests that the real study of how jazz grew has hardly been touched.

I have often wondered why nobody has explained why the first expression of jazz came in New Orleans and nowhere else—until the New Orleans musicians took it elsewhere. Why New Orleans instead of Charleston or Memphis? This incontrovertible fact that New Orleans gave birth to jazz has been taken for granted. I have a suspicion that much could be learned from a study of New Orleans society, which lived under the vestiges of French law instead of the planter law of the rural South. In the comparatively liberal atmosphere of the Crescent City the Negro emerged very early as an urban citizen with certain rights that were unknown elsewhere. It was possible to get musical instruments which the plantation and sharecropping Negro could not dream of. Many New Orleans Negro musicians got sound classical training; indeed, if I may be permitted the heresy, there is a lot of John Philip Sousa and contemporary band music in the marching jazz of New Orleans.

The great exodus of the New Orleans jazz artists to the North from 1916-21 has been feebly explained as a consequence of the closing of the Storyville redlight district in 1917. Yet Louis Armstrong, the greatest New Orleans product, didn't go north until 1922. I think a much better clue to the hegira is the fact that the jazz musician went north along with a couple million of his brothers, into the booming new industries of Detroit, Chicago, and Pittsburgh, in the war and postwar period. The musicians went to the Northern cities which had an audience ready for them—the burgeoning South Side Negro quarter in Chicago and later the cluttered pueblos of Harlem. It is this great migration of the Negro people that brought jazz out of New Orleans and Handy out of Memphis. Handy speaks of seeing "shadows on the sun" in 1917 while passing down Beale Street. "I noticed a crowd of Negroes gathered around a skull. The day before, that skull belonged to a pleasant easy-going young fellow named Tom Smith. Now it was severed from his body. The eyes had been burned out with red hot irons. A rural mob, not satisfied with burning his body, had brought the skull back to town and tossed it into a crowd of Negroes to humiliate and intimidate them." The South by such deeds was expelling its culture, just as Hitler drove the best out of Germany with his black-shirted Klan.

Handy is old and covered with honors. He learned late in life to protect his work, too late to realize the fabulous income from a song like *Memphis Blues,* which he sold outright for a "paltry sum," but in time to secure some of his royalties. In his book Handy not only writes vividly of his musical background but throws much light on the civilization that produced jazz.

JAMES DUGAN.

Engels' Masterpiece

THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE, *in the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan. By Friedrich Engels. International Publishers. $1.*

FIRST published in 1884, this Marxist classic was not translated into English until 1904. It was a very bad translation, and has long been out of print. This new one is a vast improvement on its predecessor, showing that Engels was, among other things, a most witty and entertaining writer.

Though written after Marx's death, *The Origin of the Family* was really a joint work, the fruit of many years of collaboration, and, in writing it, Engels made full use of Marx's manuscript notes on Morgan's *Ancient Society,* which had appeared in 1877. As a bourgeois materialist, Morgan was the heir to Fourier, Millar, Ferguson, and Adam Smith; but, since capitalism developed later in America than in France and Britain, he was able, while maintaining the materialist tradition, to take his stand on a much wider basis of anthropological knowledge. The great achievement of his predecessors was their analysis of the growth of private property as the fundamental factor in the advance from barbarism to civilization. Starting from the same point of view, which was, of course, conditioned by the development of capitalism itself, Morgan worked out a coherent and comprehensive theory of social evolution from its first beginnings down to the early history of ancient Greece and Rome; and this he did with so firm a theoretical grasp that, at the

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end of his task, he almost transcended his bourgeois preconceptions.

In the *Origin of the Family* Morgan's theory is expounded anew and reinterpreted in the light of dialectical materialism. Though they were the first to acclaim the importance of his discoveries, Marx and Engels were equally quick to see his bourgeois limitations —just as they had been the first to acclaim Darwin's *Origin of Species,* while also pointing out *his* limitations, at a time when he was being bell-book-and-candled by his academic colleagues for upsetting the Book of Genesis.

The social implications of Morgan's theory were so clear that it met with immediate and strenuous opposition; but his main conclusions have been confirmed by subsequent research, with the result that the opposition has only been able to maintain itself by constantly shifting the ground of attack. One of the keystones of his theory is the classificatory system of relationship—the kinship terminology characteristic of primitive society —which Morgan himself had discovered and interpreted as evidence of group-marriage. As early as 1876 the classificatory system was being explained away by McLennan as devoid of historical significance; but at the end of the century the classical Australian anthropologists—Howitt, Spencer, and Gillen—had brought to light a mass of new data, including the actual practice, over a wide area of Australia, of the form of marriage which Morgan had postulated on the evidence of the classificatory system. In 1906 Thomas claimed to have reduced the theory of group-marriage to an absurdity; but a few years later, having refuted Thomas, Rivers was forced to admit that "sexual group-relations form a potentiality of human nature which we have got to accept, however repugnant they may be to our sentiments and traditions." In 1909 Kroeber contended that primitive terms of kinship "are only oocasionally, and then indirectly, affected by social circumstances"; yet twenty years later, though at one with Kroeber in rejecting Morgan, Radcliffe-Brown was arguing that the kinship terminology of the Australians could be completely explained by their existing social circumstances, without reference to their past. In 1929 Lowie published his *Primitive Society,* designed to give the *coup-de-grace* to Morgan's *Ancient Society,* which he described as an "out-of-date text-book" possessing no more than an historical interest—exactly what J. M. Keynes has said of *Capital*; yet five years later the fiftieth anniversary of the *Origin of the Family* was celebrated in the Soviet Union by the publication of two large volumes of commentary, covering an even wider range than the original, vindicating the main conclusions of Morgan and Engels, and carrying them into new fields of anthropology, archaeology and ancient history.

Enough has been said to show that Morgan's bourgeois opponents have only demolished him by demolishing one another. The result is that at the present day the bourgeois camp is in a state of hopeless confusion, as indeed is confessed in the following remarks by Malinowski:—

> As a member of the inner ring I may say that, whenever I meet Mrs. Seligman or Dr. Lowie, or discuss matters with Radcliffe-Brown or Kroeber, I become at once aware that my partner does not understand anything in the matter, and I end usually with the feeling that this also applies to myself. This refers to all our writings on kinship, and is fully reciprocal.

And there—after fifty years of "progress"—we may leave them.

The next step lies with the Marxists. The task that awaits them is immense. Both Morgan and Engels made it quite clear that they regarded their conclusions as subject to modification in the light of further research, and it would, of course, be a falsification of Marxism to treat Engels' conclusions, as distinct from the method by which he reached them, as final. What we have to do is to apply that method to the vast amount of material that has accumulated since his time, bringing order into chaos; and in that way, by reexamining and, where necessary, modifying his conclusions, we shall demonstrate anew the validity of his method. It must suffice for the present to point out one or two of the major problems that demand attention.

In their account of exogamy, Morgan and Engels assume that in-breeding is necessarily, or at least generally, injurious to human beings living in primitive conditions. Is this assumption correct, and does it really explain the facts? One of the striking things about the rule of exogamy in its simplest form is that, while in certain directions it prohibits the inter-marriage of kindred to an infinitely remote degree, in other directions it permits marriage between first cousins and even between parents and children.

Morgan collected about 150 terminologies of kinship. The total today is about twice that number. None of his successors has displayed anything approaching his energy in collecting them, and his is still far the largest collection that has been made—in fact, his *Systems of Consanguinity* (1871) remains the standard work on the subject. With the additional evidence now available it can, I think, be proved that he was right (as against Rivers) in regarding the "Hawaiian" type as primitive not derivative, and that, as he conjectured, the Indo-European terminology goes back to a classificatory system of the normal type.

Further, there are two important questions of method. The first may be put briefly as follows. The Australian tribes of the present day stand roughly at the cultural stage reached in Europe at the close of the paleolithic epoch. How far can our knowledge of modern Australia be used for the understanding of prehistoric Europe? Gordon Childe maintains that "the assumption that any savage tribe today is primitive in the sense that its culture faithfully reflects that of much more ancient men is gratuitous." This is very superficial. Of course the resemblance is not exact,

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but it still remains true that the two sets of data can be coordinated. The culture of the modern Australians has not remained stationary—it has continued to develop, but only in directions determined by the mode of production at which their economic development has been arrested. What we have to do is to analyze the special features of Australian culture due to this complication, and we shall not be deterred from doing that by Gordon Childe's warning that such a use of the comparative method is "illegitimate."

At the present day there is very little left of the Australian aborigines except groups of detribalized stragglers hanging round the missions and sheep stations. A good deal of research has been done on these remnants in recent years, and from it far-reaching conclusions have been drawn, often at variance with the results obtained by earlier workers. General conclusions based on such evidence must be treated with the greatest caution. What is needed here is a systematic study of the effects on primitive culture of capitalist exploitation, and that is a task which bourgeois anthropologists cannot perform, because it would mean taking up a critical attitude to capitalism. They are prepared to spin endless theories about primitive society, but not to analyze their own.

I have said nothing about the chapters on Greece and Rome because, though they are of great value, the problems involved are less fundamental, nor about the brilliant historical analysis of the social relations between the sexes. Marx and Engels foresaw that, just as the growth of private property involved the subjection of women, so socialism would effect their liberation. That has been Marxist theory for sixty years, and the proof lies in the Soviet Union, where there has already arisen, as Engels predicted in this book, "a generation of men who never in their lives have known what it is to buy a woman's surrender with money or any other social instrument of power; a generation of women who have never known what it is to give themselves to a man from any other considerations than real love, or to refuse to give themselves to their lover from fear of the economic consequences." GEORGE THOMSON.

Small-Town Saga

WHISTLE STOP, *by Maritta M. Wolff. Random House. $2.50.*

THE author of this vigorous novel has justly been greeted by the critics as a fresh and startling talent. Miss Wolff is twenty-two. She is a recent graduate of the University of Michigan, where she was awarded the Hopwood prize for *Whistle Stop*. Despite its real limitations this first novel thrusts her into the ranks of the most promising younger writers.

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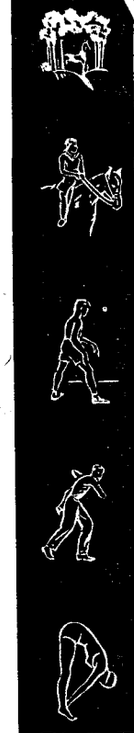

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has lost all sense of unity and purpose. Molly Veech, the mother, is a sort of Ma Joad who tries in vain to hold the children together. Kenny conceals his discontent and frustration under a cloak of irresponsible indolence. Mary is the mistress of a local racketeer. Ernie, who is outwardly more respectable but at bottom a philistine, helps provide for the family. Jen and Josie, twins in their late teens, are completely different in temperament, the one bursting with vitality and the other craving a middle-class respectability which the family can never achieve. Through the hot summer days they bark at each other, trying crazily to fit in with the family jigsaw design which will not come straight.

The group can be described adequately only in terms which range from broad farce to genuine pathos, and Miss Wolff has richly exploited the opportunity to test her powers in a variety of moods. There is an earthy gusto in the book and at the same time a deeply felt tenderness. Of formal plot there is little. One theme which runs through these sketches of family life is the incestuous attachment of Kenny and Mary—it remains vague and misty—and the sharp jealousies to which their thwarted love gives rise. Kenny's drinking bouts and careless affairs with women are hopeless escapes from this attachment, just as Mary's life with Lou is basically an expedient for providing the family with money and clothes. To both these characters the author has devoted most care and understanding. And yet the younger brother Carl and the sisters Jen and Josie are more fully realized. Their portraits emerge clearly as types of late adolescence, whereas Kenny and Mary remain interesting fictional conceptions.

The most notable quality of the novel is its vitality. There is an eagerness in the treatment of this family which makes every page come alive with fresh dialogue and action. Indeed the abundance of warm human material almost conceals a weakness in the novel which keeps it from achieving a greater stature. That weakness is the failure to plant the Veech family more recognizably in the social world which impinges upon it and influences its behavior. The significance of the family tends to become limited to itself, unlike the Joad family, for example, in *The Grapes of Wrath*. And this limited significance is related to the uncertainty of purpose which one feels in the book. One reviewer described the novel as follows: "Pick some grapes of wrath in Ann Arbor, stow them in a leaky crock from *February Hill*, add some frankincense and myrrh of *Tobacco Road*, and you have the bouquet of *Whistle Stop*." This is a colorful description of a colorful book; but does it not at the same time emphasize the weakness of eclecticism?

The weakness is perhaps a secondary one in this novel, but it indicates the direction in which Miss Wolff must go in her future work. Wedded to a more basic theme and a stronger purpose, her talents should enable her to produce distinguished work.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

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THE SHADOWS FIND A VOICE

How technological developments affect the content of films and tighten monopoly's grip over Hollywood. The screen writer's position. Depth of scene through pan focus.

THE screen writer works in a mass entertainment industry. However much he would like to think of his function as a purely creative one, whose end product is the "word," the stubborn twentieth century fact is that the "word" is in the beginning but means nothing in the end unless translated through the complicated machinery which nowadays makes a sound film.

In the *American Cinematographer* for May 1941 there is a review of *Citizen Kane:* Here is one significant sentence: "It is not too much to say that *Citizen Kane* could not have been made without modern arc lighting." Of course the author of this review is discussing only the revolutionary depth of field in the photography, but the simple fact is that fifteen years ago *Citizen Kane* could not have been made for a half dozen technical reasons among which were lack of sound, less skill in miniatures, no superfast film, no coated lenses. Fifteen years ago, of course, social attitudes were different. Orson Welles would have seen Kane differently, but the important point is that the social life in 1940 not only involved Kane, and Welles as Kane's creator, but also evolved the technical instruments without which Kane could not have been produced. What we are stressing, therefore, is that the writer must understand the technical processes of mass entertainment and know how these affect the content of his work and how they develop and hinder his ideas.

FILM WRITERS speak often of control of material and of their ability to create. Frequently they speak in a vacuum and abstractly; they do not recognize the limitations and advantages imposed upon their creative work by technology; they do not realize that where there is no understanding of these processes, there can be no control. This is a lesson which is of value to every writer working in our industrial society.

Every technological change has affected the content of pictures not only in terms of the erasure of a limitation but also in the further power it gives to monopoly. Thus we immediately see a two-fold effect of technical advances: on the one hand, greater opportunity for expression, a genuine advance towards a deeper portrayal of people's lives; on the other hand, monopoly control and a corresponding stultification of creative forces.

Let us examine a concrete illustration of our point: the coming of sound to American films in 1928. Experimentation in sound had been carried on during the twenties by the Bell Laboratories and General Electric. William Fox was also carrying on private re-

Joe Jones

search, but no one in Hollywood seemed to take sound seriously. No one, that is, except the Warner Brothers. The Warner Corporation was on its last legs, without theaters of its own, hopelessly outclassed by Paramount, Loews, and the rising First National. In a final effort to smash through the monopoly of theatres which was strangling them, the Warners made a desperate switch to sound. But this switch not only put Warners on their feet—enabling them a few years later to take over First National—it gave a much needed stimulus to the nation's box-office. According to Film Year Book, box-office weekly average attendance in 1928 was 65,000,000; in 1929, the first year of sound, attendance jumped to 95,000,000 and spurted in the first year of the depression to the all time high of 110,000,000.

Only this spurt could warrant the cost of converting the industry to sound—a cost of over $500,000,000. Since the entire box-office intake from the United States in the previous year, 1927, was $750,000,000, some idea of the magnitude of this change can be realized. The original owners of the films went into hock to pay the cost. They borrowed money from the banks and went heavily into debt of the two patent owners, RCA Photophone and Western Electric. As a result independent production and experimentation became a great deal more costly and consequently less likely. Quickie Row was finished. Dating from the entrance of sound the motion picture industry becomes big business.

The trend of larger studios gobbling up smaller ones still continues. But on top of this a new control enters, and the following years are to see most of the studios pass from their original ownership. The fight of RCA (RKO, Pathe, and Keith Albee) representing the Rockefeller interests, against Western Electric, ERPI, the Morgan interests, begins. Most of the producing companies sign the so-called "suicide" contracts with ERPI. And still, in the height of the depression, films make money, and Wall Street recognizing this becomes even more interested.

The ownership of patents tightened monopoly control. Morgan had his fingers in Paramount and Warners and indirectly in Loews, but his American Telephone and Telegraph patents entrenched him more firmly. RCA Photophone put Mr. Rockefeller and the Chase National Bank into RKO. The simple fact was that the two great financial houses with their allies—the Atlas Corp., Lehman Brothers, Dillon Read and Co.—control the American film industry and that the establishment of sound hastened their control and increased their participation. The indirect control these houses exerted through their patents is easy to see. Rockefeller and the Chase National Bank through RCA influenced Warner, Twentieth Century, Columbia, and RKO. Morgan through AT&T, which has a Rockefeller minority on its board influenced Paramount, Loews, Universal, and United Artists. (This information is from World Film News of 1936. Subsequent information might disclose certain shifts, but the dominant position of big capital would remain the same.)

This monopoly control has the same tendency as does all monopoly: it stultifies the development of new productive forces and at the same time prevents the full realization of the present productive forms. Whenever such control is questioned, and it has been in the past by such films as *The Grapes of Wrath, Fury, Zola,* etc., it is due to the social conditions of the time, the individual creators in Hollywood, and the great influence the public exerts on the industry. The public, through the box-office, exercises a direct control over films and monopoly capital has been forced to recognize this.

BUT THE fascinating point of the establishment of sound in the motion picture business is that in spite of increasing monopoly control the mere fact that sound had arrived was a tremendous progressive factor. First: it was a boon to every single creator, be he writer, director, or actor. It marked the greatest single advance toward realism the film had ever made. The fact that it added another dimension made it approximate life just that much more closely. Second: sound has greater shock value; it is more personal. And third: it deepened the whole possibility of the motion picture because it gave the actor the miracle of speech. And this is a miracle for the fact is that not the strips of celluloid, not the words alone, but the person on the film is

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the really important core of the photography.

Only through the actor representing people can reality and a deeper understanding of life be achieved. Intellectual ideas and symbols—the theories of film making in which the length of the various strips is more important, than the content, all the theories in which the mind is stirred by mechanical methods rather than by people and their lives—all these tend toward abstractness, towards a separation from life rather than an enriched understanding of it.

The emphasis must be on people, their lives, their problems, and their relationship with one another. This is no denial of "ideas" *per se,* because ideas, once they become concrete, become things that people "do" rather than things they "say." Ideas expressed through people, springing from their objective circumstances, are not denied. But ideas for themselves, abstract and symbolic, tend to make the pictures coming out of these vast technological processes as cold in their end result as the machines which make them possible. My emphasis must always be on people.

Sound really makes this emphasis meaningful. It becomes meaningful because sound allows for real characterization, for subtle shadings and for depth of psychological study. Sound makes the conventional theories of film composition impossible—because what is said is more important.

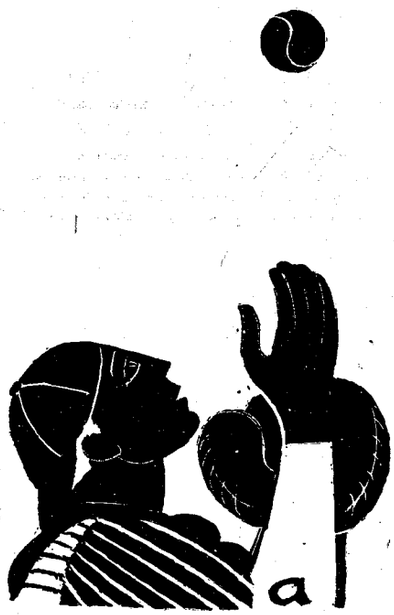
In silent films, for instance, the acting was, for the most part, pantomime. The actor's gestures were broad and certain scenes had to be exaggerated. Looking at a silent film today, even the *classics* of Griffith's, one is struck by the abundance of hugging and kissing which appears on the screen in any scene representing a happy family. Then we realize that this is the only way to show affection. Similarly, it was impossible for a husband and wife to have a mild argument—it had to be a violent quarrel. Otherwise, without titles or symbols, how would the audience know what was going on? There was little opportunity for shading and consequently types were the rule rather than characters. Of course the seeds of characterization were present in silent films, the conception of character, not as static but continually in motion was in embryonic form in such films as *A Woman of Paris, Greed,* and other pictures of the middle and late twenties. But the films of 1926 and 1927 show their need for dialogue. In the *Passion of Joan of Arc* the film screams for dialogue; it is almost overpowering to feel the director's need to have Joan speak. Similarly in *Greed* the actors all learned lines—lines which were never heard, because von Stroheim, with his fierce sense of realism, absolutely had to have it in order to project his characters. For this same picture von Stroheim also developed a complete musical score.

In spite of the need for sound, the first talking films were quite bad in every sense. In 1929, the first year of sound, we have musicals, stiff English drawing room pieces, and comedies. It was not only the difficulty of integrating technical advance which caused such films but also the inevitable reaction of monopoly to technical advancement; the tendency to exploit the advance as a trick to cover a lack of content. Serious dramas were not as yet possible; most of the old film actors could not play without their gestures and the stage actors were just as bad. Only the British actors, such as Arliss and Howard, with their under-emotional, under-developed techniques could walk through their roles successfully.

Even in 1929, however, sound was introducing changes. Writers, actors, and directors were coming in from the stage. Films were made static by the technique of photographing stage plays, but the plays brought adult content and progressive ideas which lasted, whereas the immobile quality of those first films was soon overcome. And sound was forcing the silent directors and creative artists to look around for material suitable to its possibilities.

It sent King Vidor, for example, to the Negro people in his search for material adaptable to the new demands. Turning to the Negro people did broaden the scope of the films, and is in this sense a progressive step. But unfortunately Vidor didn't understand the Negro people and thought of them as a strange and childlike group. Consequently *Hallelujah* is a distortion and sentimentalization of Negro life. This contradiction runs through the whole of the film.

This sentimentalization and Vidor's paternalism is reflected in the sound. In some cases, notably the singing of the spirituals, the sound is fuzzy and sentimental. But the enlarged scope also made for novel technical effects which bring out the human progressive quality of the film. For instance, there is a cut of the Negroes singing ecstatically to one man trailing another in a swamp. I quote a description of this scene by Lewis Jacobs: ". . . all that is heard is the labored breathing of the man, the swish of grass, the rustle of branches, the lapping of the water, bird and insect noises. These natural sounds heightened the terror of the fugitive and the tension of the chase."



Aime

PARK SCENE *by Naomi Baker, age 16, of the High School of Music and Art, exhibited recently at the American Artists Gallery, and winner of the LaGuardia Scholarship.*

The content of films was changing. Both the social ferment of the thirties and the entrance of sound were responsible. The people, in their new awareness, demanded greater realism, a more progressive content and a closer approach to their own lives and problems. Sound made this demand possible to realize.

For the people, therefore, it meant better pictures; for the writer it meant dialogue: the ability to express ideas in this realistic fashion; for the actor it meant possibility of refinement in character. Even the relation of the characters to each other within the film itself is altered in that they can talk to each other, show their relation to each other; their ideas bind them together.

Seeing how the technical advances help the creator one might well ask: Why have these improvements not produced even better pictures than they have? The answer, of course, is monopoly control. The producers saw almost immediately the great progressive power of sound. And so they began to curtail it. No better example of this exists than in the newsreel. Sound made the news so much more real and significant, a strike situation for instance so much more realistic that the producers were forced to emasculate or distort their product. The *March of Time* is an example of such distortion, with sound, in the person of the commentator helping. But the Memorial Day Massacre in 1937 for which Little Steel and the Chicago city government were responsible was another thing entirely. Here was something which could not be distorted, because

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the facts were present in the picture; unarmed workers being shot and killed by armed police. Consequently the companies were forced to suppress this clip completely. In a few cases a clip, cut to the bone, was shown. At the present time, the newsreel continues to be a collection of bathing beauties and public figures. And this, at a time when news is being made in every corner of the world.

But monopoly has another method of control. And that is control over the creator of the film art. This is the method of enforced isolation from his fellow creators and consequently the separation of the creator from his tools. The producer does not want the writer, for example, to learn too much about sound or cutting or camera. Even director and writer, natural collaborators, are stirred by a false enmity towards each other. The producers are afraid of any control but their own. They oppose, therefore, an extension of the creator's technical knowledge as something which will give him a control over the final product they are not willing to let him have.

Even so the writer in Hollywood today owes almost everything to the coming of sound. Since the writer was a late comer to the motion picture scene—the actor and director and cameraman were before him—his function has always been overlooked. Pictures in the early days were illustrative, coming from post-card and magic lantern, rather than narrative. Many of the early pictures never knew a script. But the influence of plays and the coming of dialogue made the writer one of the most important craftsmen in Hollywood. Important as he is to the process the writer, as we have pointed out, exercises very little control over it. That is why the writer must gain a knowledge of the technology of his medium even if the producer opposes it. He must learn to think in terms of the screen rather than the piece of paper in front of him.

It is interesting to note that two pictures of the past two years which have had technical innovation were pictures in which the creators had a certain measure of control: *Grapes of Wrath* in which Steinbeck and Ford had some control over the content, and *Citizen Kane* in which Orson Welles had complete say over the content of the picture and how it should be made. These films illustrate the unity of technological method and content, the machine serves the social concept.

In *Grapes of Wrath* the harsh grained film and low key lighting gave a documentary quality to the whole film and a simplicity and naturalness to the characters essential to the progressive content of the picture. *Citizen Kane,* too, marks a great advance in films. Where it is progressive in content it uses new technical devices, such as pan focus (the name given the new depth of field), admirably. Where the picture has a tendency to be abstract and deal with ideas rather than people, the content is obscured rather than aided by the camera work and use of sound.

Pan focus, which gives depth to the scene, alters immediately certain creative functions. It demands more of the actor in that he is

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constantly in scene even when in the background and it requires a more sustained performance. It aids the actor in that the necessity to walk the famous chalk line in order to remain in focus, is for the most part obviated. It changes the writer's conception in that it allows for compression—more meaning within a single frame. As in *Citizen Kane,* one can get into a single frame both the medicine bottle and glass in the foreground and the characters coming through the door in the background. It allows the writer to overlap his dialogue and throw away a line for the sake of naturalness, because the actor does not have to wait that tenth of a second after one line before he speaks his own—a tenth of a second heretofore demanded in case of a necessary cut from one character to another in close-up.

The realistic possibilities of pan focus have only begun to be exploited. How they will be developed in the next few years depends almost entirely on what happens politically in the United States. A period of political reaction will stultify motion pictures both in their technical development and in their content. On the other hand, if the present great movement of progressive forces continues and develops, we can expect pan focus and all other technological innovations to be used and further developed as progressive pictures demand. Under such conditions technical development will flourish. A progressive movement will help all creators to collaborate and to participate in the general process. Only through such participation and through an understanding not only of his craft, but also his industry can the individual creator come to fruition.

The article above is the joint work of a group of Hollywood writers. It was read at the Screen Session of the recent Writers Congress.

Three Movies

Joy Davidman evaluates the Marx Brothers.

FROM *The Big Store* it is possible to deduce that the Marx Brothers' retirement is not purely voluntary. Make no mistake; Groucho, as Wolf J. Flywheel, might still be a funny man. Chico is still God's gift to the piano, and Harpo is my darling, especially when, dressed in beautiful eighteenth-century brocaded satin coat and pants, he plays Mozart as a trio, all three of which are himself—Harpo, Cello, and Violino. Margaret Dumont, the Brothers' old reliable plush horse, is back to help them. There is a delightful burlesque of a movietone fashion show, and an acrobatic chase on roller skates. It all ought to be very funny. But the magic has departed. At any rate, *The Big Store* is rather less entertaining than Macy's advertising.

Tony Martin and the plot spread dullness everywhere. One is inclined to feel sorry for Douglas Dumbrille, whose praiseworthy efforts, as the villain, to murder Tony before

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he can sing another song meet such undeserved failure. One certainly is not inclined to preserve Tony's singing after hearing him warble such a pretentious absurdity as *Tenement Symphony,* which would have disgusted Beethoven and Gershwin alike. And the question of which crook gets the department store hardly seems important enough to center a plot on.

With new material and fewer songs, the Marxes might be as funny as ever. I may be dignifying the Brothers too much, but I should like to see Marc Blitzstein write a number for them. It might help start them on their road to recovery.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN, throughout history, have had a very real problem to face, and many of them have suffered in character because of it. *Blossoms in the Dust,* however, exaggerates this problem to serve its sentimental purposes. It is full of sweet young girls shooting themselves on making the horrid discovery that Mamma didn't have her marriage lines. The illegitimate are represented as slinking pitiably through life, while their neighbors point fingers of scorn. All this overstatement, needless to say, permits Miss Greer Garson to have some dramatic scenes as a lady crusader as well as looking unbelievably lovely in frilly gowns and technicolor.

Her struggle might have more validity if the film were not such a welter of heartbreak. In spite of the not-so-mute testimony of the gentleman who was loudly blowing his nose at my side, I found *Blossoms in the Dust* grotesque rather than tragic. Its one episode of natural human activity is a mere introduction in which Greer Garson and Walter Pidgeon flirt with each other charmingly. After that the tear-jerking starts. It's like milking a cow. You could have filled buckets and buckets with the tears that were jerked out of the softer female contingent of the audience.

First, sweet little Charlotte shoots herself. Less than a reel later Greer's first childbirth leaves her incapable of having another child. Inevitably the only son is killed off in about five minutes. Life is dark and empty until Greer establishes a day nursery for the children of her husband's mill workers—whereupon her husband loses the mill. Reduced to humble circumstances and simpler but still becoming gowns, Greer gets herself interested in the little illegitimates. Her life work is now found, and poor Walter Pidgeon, no longer being necessary to the plot, is promptly assassinated by the script writers. Greer Garson makes a beautiful widow.

Walter, on his deathbed, thoughtfully sells an invention, thus providing Greer with money enough for her personal expenses, and enabling the script writers to forget about economics for good. Other troubles, to these gentlemen, are poetic, but money troubles are low. Geer's self-sacrifices are just starting; they come to a climax, with a gush of marshmallow, in the perfectly unnecessary yielding of her favorite orphan to a childless couple who could just as well have taken any other. We leave her looking not a day older. It's wonderful how good self-sacrifice seems to be for the complexion.

It is very difficult to make Greer Garson, with her considerable talent for acting and her splendid red hair, an uninteresting person. *Blossoms in the Dust* comes near doing so, however. As for those hundreds of babies, they're chubby and cute and charming and all the other fatuous adjectives usually applied to the young of the species. Babies are wonderful. They deserve love and care and protection. They deserve to grow up in a decent world; and I will fight to the death for them, but perhaps looking at them in technicolor for two solid hours is a little too much.

AS A SATIRE on crooked politics, *Tight Shoes* is wilfully superficial. It does manage to contribute some vigorous portraits of politicians, however. Speedy, the brute of a ward heeler who manages to be the film's hero, is admirably sketched in his overdressed arrogance and his aversion to work. When his obstinacy lands him with a pair of undersized shoes, and the undersized shoes give him a wrong hunch on a horse race, and the wrong hunch leads him to kick a shoe salesman in the pants, and the shoe salesman revengefully breaks up Speedy's gambling joint with a fire axe and surprises himself by getting elected councilman—well, it adds up to a very funny business. Honest John, the defeated candidate for councilman, and a familiar face at everyone's roulette wheel, supplies a background in oil for the arresting portrait of the heroic shoe salesman, scowling and swinging his axe.

Binnie Barnes, brilliant and versatile as ever, does some engaging acting as a burlesque queen who has made good on the stage, to the point where she acquires Speedy and a string of diamonds. In defense of her diamonds she swings a lovely right, and her changes from a waterfront girl to a broad caricature of the enameled Gertie Lawrence are high comedy. Her role is the best written part of the film. There are also some rather fine moments of a more serious kind, in which the shoe salesman and his girl, with wry laughter, discuss the troubles of little people at the mercy of ward-heel politicians. They can't get decent wages; they can't get married. "At least," the girl grins, "I won't be a child bride!"

John Howard, a good comedian when he gets a chance, does nobly with the fire axe, and Broderick Crawford is excellent as Speedy.

Leo Carrillo restrains his usual tendency to mug, supplying a rather good study of a small shopkeeper. The nameless organist who swings the Lohengrin Wedding March at the end ought also to be enshrined in deathless bronze. The best thing in *Tight Shoes,* however, remains the style of Damon Runyon's dialogue; the sour humor which is as American as hot dogs.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

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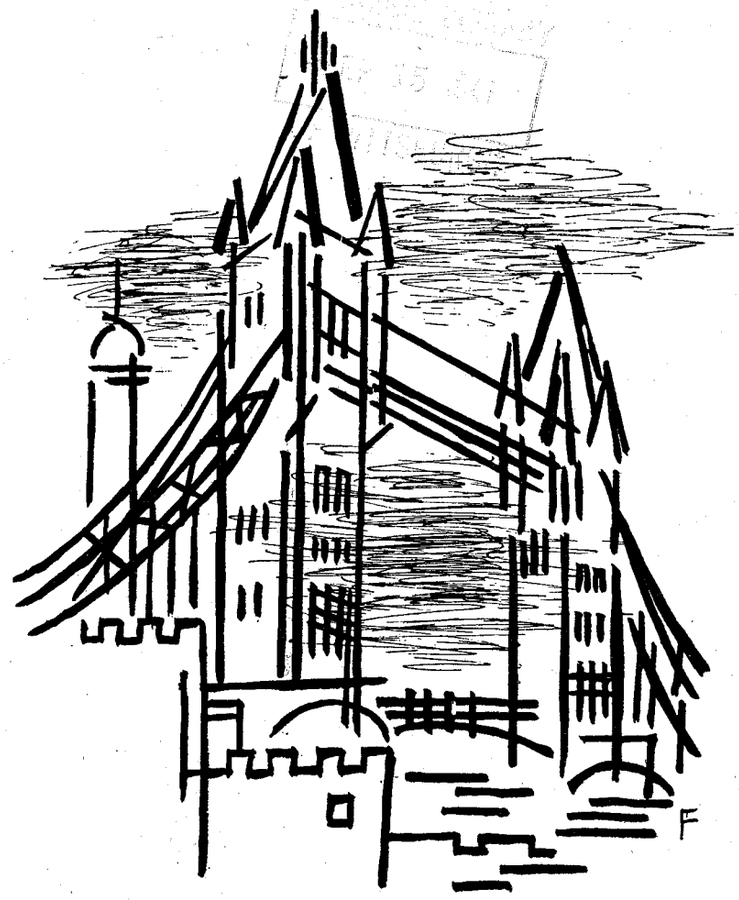

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Biographical Note on Our London Correspondent

To thousands this man needs no introduction: the publication he founded—The Week—made journalistic history on both sides of the Atlantic. You will remember it as the fearless political news letter which was first to put the spotlight on Lady Astor and her Cliveden set. Since 1933 The Week has provided thousands in America and Britain with more than a peek into the strange goings-on in the capitals of Europe. Its editor, whose two articles from the British front this past forthnight in New Masses have already aroused the enthusiasm of our readers, has had long training for his brilliant career.

Born in 1904 in the British legation at Pekin, China, Claude Cockburn is the son of the last British Minister to Korea before the Japanese took over. In 1921 he accompanied his father, then head of a British financial mission, to Budapest, and spent more than half of the next four years in Hungary and Germany where he saw, at first-hand, the "reconstruction" and inflation period. After his years at Oxford, where he headed the Liberal Club, he won a "Traveling Fellowship" which provided two years of foreign experience for "intending diplomats." He subsequently adopted the career of journalism, and his first major assignment was Washington. He spent three years there, seven months of which he served as temporary head of the London Times bureau. There he also wrote a book on the capital—"High Low Washington" published by Lippincott in 1932. In 1933 he launched The Week. He covered the Asturian revolt in Spain in 1934, the first correspondent on the scene. In 1936 he went to Madrid, was the first Englishman to join the Spanish Republican militia. He fought on the Sierras for a short time, wrote his second book "Reporter in Spain." Then he went to Prague in 1938 during the big days prior to Munich.

He was very well known to the people of Britain as a member of the staff of the London Daily Worker. New Masses is happy to present him to the people of America through his weekly cable.

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